

✓
36 26 21
Vol. XII.

APRIL-JUNE, 1921

No. 2

124-22
THE
ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL R DTA

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

with the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG
MILTON A. BUCHANAN
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET
JOHN L. GERIG
C. H. GRANDGENT
GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON
KENNETH MCKENZIE
HUGO A. RENNERT
HUGH A. SMITH

and of

THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

PUBLISHED BY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

LANCASTER, PA.,

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Entered as second-class matter April 19, 1910, at the Post Office at Lancaster, Pa., under the Act of
March 3, 1879.

CONTENTS

The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes	FOSTER E. GUYER	97
Sobre la Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara	AURELIO M. ESPINOSA	135
A Note on the Boy Bishop in Spain	J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD	146
The Siège de Barbastre	RAYMOND WEEKS	155
Ramón de la Cruz, Social Reformer	ARTHUR HAMILTON	168
The Sources of Sebastiano Erizzo's <i>Discorso del governi civili</i> . ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE		181
Comparisons—Dante, <i>Inferno</i> , I. 80; Petrarch, Montaigne, etc. ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK		185
Proparoxitismo y Rima Encadenada	E. BUCETA	187
REVIEW		
Les Origines de la poésie française de la Renaissance. By Henry Chamard. C. RUUTZ-REES		188
NOTES AND NEWS		191

Articles to Appear Shortly

- The Sources of Boccaccio's Novella of Mithridanes and Natan. (*Decameron*, X, 3.)
T. F. CRANK, Cornell University.
- Wedding Plays in Early Spanish. J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, University of
Pennsylvania.
- The Floral Games of Toulouse. JOHN CHARLES DAWSON, Howard University, Alabama.
- American Travellers in Spain. C. EVANGELINE FARNHAM.
- The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes. FOSTER E. GUYER, Dartmouth College.
- Storm-Making Springs: Studies on the Sources of *Yvain* (*continued*). GEORGE L.
HAMILTON, Cornell University.
- The Gilded Leaden Cloaks of the Hypocrites. (*Inferno*, XXIII, 58-66.) GEORGE L.
HAMILTON, Cornell University.
- A Bibliography of Peruvian Literature, 1821-1919. STURGIS E. LEAVITT, University of
North Carolina.
- The Old French Lay of Nabaret. GERTRUDE S. LOOMIS, Vassar College.
- The Orchard Scene in Tydorel and Sir Gowther. M. B. OGLE, University of Vermont.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

Subscription price, \$3.00 per year, single number \$1.00.

On subscriptions outside of the United States and dependencies, postage is charged extra as follows: To Canada, on yearly subscriptions 12 cents, on single numbers 3 cents; to all other countries, on yearly subscriptions, 24 cents, on single numbers, 6 cents.

Remittances should be made by New York draft, check or money order, payable to Columbia University Press. On checks drawn outside New York City, ten cents should be added for collection charges.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW is issued by the Columbia University Press, a corporation. The officers of the Press are Nicholas Murray Butler, president; William H. Carpenter, secretary, and John B. Pine, treasurer. Communications should be addressed to

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

41 North Queen Street, Lancaster, Pa. or Columbia University, New York City

Rivarol's De l'Universalité de la Langue Française

Edited by President W. W. Comfort, of Haverford College

Gives the student an adequate and vital reason for studying French.

Accounts more than any other document of equal length for the
universality and importance of the French language.

For college and third-year high-school classes.

GINN AND COMPANY

Boston	New York	Chicago	London
Atlanta	Dallas	Columbus	San Francisco

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XII. — APRIL-JUNE, 1921 — No. 2

THE INFLUENCE OF OVID ON CRESTIEN DE TROYES

✓ THE purpose of this study is to set forth, in the briefest manner possible, the influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes.¹ This influence appears particularly in the love-treatment in all the works of Crestien that have come down to us with the exception of *Erec et Enide* and *Guillaume d'Angleterre*. There is still some doubt as to whether our Crestien wrote the last named poem. Leaving the *Guillaume*, therefore, out of consideration for the moment, it may be said that the influence of Ovid on Crestien's conception of love marks a clearcut division in our author's literary development. Thus the chronological order of Crestien's work will, incidentally, be established as that in which the poet listed them himself in his prologue to *Cligès*, with the *Ovidiana*, which mark the beginning of the French poet's infatuation with Ovid, following *Erec*. The tale of *Guillaume d'Angleterre* presents especial difficulties because its love-situations resemble Crestien's earlier manner and yet the work is not mentioned in the prologue to *Cligès*. It will appear, however, in the course of our study that the poem in question was written either by another than Crestien de Troyes or, if by our poet, then early in his career before he adopted the Ovidian love-psychology.

It is remarkable that so attractive a theme has never received careful and adequate attention. As early as 1883 Gaston Paris called attention to the fact that the idea of treating love as a science must have had its origin in Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, and thus indicated

¹ Professor W. A. Nitze has aided the author of this article greatly by his advice and extensive criticism. The writer is also indebted in a similar manner to Professor T. A. Jenkins, Professor E. P. Dargan, and Professor T. P. Cross.

an interesting chapter in the critical study of Crestien's poems. After pointing out that Ovid's treatment of love resembles chivalric love as portrayed by Crestien, he closed his short discussion with the statement that other analogies would easily be discovered by anyone who would study the problem with care.² W. A. Nitze mentions the "evident analogies that the love situations of Crestien's poems offer to Ovid."³ Karl Heyl⁴ speaks of Ovid as the leader and master of courtly poets in the North of France and indicates some influences of Ovid on Crestien as one of a group of writers who took Ovid as an authority in matter and in form. Pio Rajna points out a single case of Ovid's influence on Crestien's *Perceval*.⁵ Wilibald Schroetter⁶ compares the beginning of the lyric *Amors, tançon et bataille*, attributed to Crestien, to lines from Ovid's *Amores*. Edmond Faral suggests the need of a comprehensive study of Ovid's influence on French literature of the second half of the 12th century, especially on Crestien de Troyes.⁷

The evidence in support of our major thesis will be presented first in detail, the conclusions to be deduced will then be set forth, and lastly the incidental determination of a new chronology of Crestien's works will be elucidated.

A

MENTION OF OVID OR OF OVIDIAN CHARACTERS

Cligès

Crestien informs us himself that he translated or adapted some of Ovid's works. This information is to be found in the opening

² Gaston Paris, "Le conte de la charrette," *Romania*, XII (1883), 519.

³ "Sans et matière dans les œuvres de Chrétien de Troyes," *Romania*, XLIV (1915), 28.

⁴ *Die Theorie der Minne in den ältesten Minneromanen Frankreichs*. Marburg dissertation, 1911; reviewed by Kuechler in *Zeitsch. für franz. Sprache und Lit.*, 1912, II, 20-44.

⁵ *Le Fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*,² Firenze, 1900, 87, n. 1. My attention was called to this note by Professor P. O. Skinner.

⁶ *Ovid und die Troubadours*, Halle, 1908, 44; reviewed by Vossler, *Libl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, II (1909), 63 ff., and by Jeanroy, *Annales du Midi*, XXI (1909), 517 ff.

⁷ "Ovide et quelques autres sources du roman d'Enéas," *Rom.*, XL (1911), 161, and *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, Paris, 1913.

lines of *Cligès* where the poet gives a list of several, though perhaps not all of his earlier works:

Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide,
Et les Comandemanz Ovide
Et l'Art d'Amors an romanz mist
Et de la Hupe et de l'Aronde
Et del Rossignol la Muance,

Les Comandemanz Ovide et l'Art d'Amors may be the title of a single work or two works of Crestien may be implied. This work may be a translation or adaptation in French of one Ovidian poem. In that case Crestien refers obviously to the *Ars amatoria*. The French poet may have translated two works of Ovid; and he may mean by the *Comandemanz Ovide* Ovid's *Remedia amoris*. The latter interpretation seems the more probable on account of the extensive use that our poet has made of the *Remedia amoris* as will appear from the evidence to be presented below. *De la Hupe et de l'Aronde et del Rossignol la Muance* is clearly a translation or adaptation of Ovid's tale of Philomela in the *Metamorphoses* (VI, 426 ff.).

In *Cligès* four Ovidian characters are mentioned; Narcissus, Medea, Helen and Paris. Medea's native country Thessaly is also mentioned. The story of Narcissus (*Met.* III, 339 ff.) is briefly related (2766 ff.) and *Cligès* is compared to that Ovidian character. Thessala, Fenice's nurse, is said to know more of witchcraft and enchantments than Medea (3030; see *Metamorphoses* VII, 10 ff.) Thessala was born in Thessaly (3006). The probability that the influence at this point comes from Ovid is increased by the fact that one of Soredamor's monologues (897 ff.) appears to be modeled directly on that of Medea (*Met.* VII, 10 ff.). *Cligès'* proposal to take Fenice to his uncle's land may easily have been suggested to Crestien by that of Paris to Helen in Ovid's *Epistolae* (XV, 175 ff.). Paris tells of the extent of his father's realm and of the crowds that will welcome Helen in the magnificent city of Troy; and *Cligès* says:

5299 Qu'onques ne fu a si grant joie
Elainne receüe a Troie

Quant Paris l'i ot amenee
 Qu'ancor ne soit graindre menee
 Par tote la terre le roi,
 Mon oncle, de vos et de moi.

Epist. XV, 179

Ilion adspicies firmataque turribus altis
 Moenia, Phoebeae structa canore lyrae.

183

Occurrent denso tibi Troades agmine matres,
 Nec capient Phrygias atria nostra nurus.

331

Ibis Dardanias ingens regina per urbes,
 Teque novam credet vulgus adesse deam,
 Quaque feres gressus, adolebunt cinnama flammae,
 Caesaque sanguineam victima planget humum.
 Dona pater fratresque et cum genetrice sorores
 Iliadesque omnes totaque Troia dabit.

Lancelot

Lancelot is compared to Pyramus (382; see *Met.* IV, 55 ff.).

B

INSTANCES WHERE DIRECT BORROWING IS SHOWN BY SIMILARITY OF IDEA AND LANGUAGE

*Philomena*⁸

The description of the heroine's mental ability and acquirements (177-204), which is absent from Ovid's tale in the *Metamorphoses*, is based directly on the *Ars amatoria*. The parallel passages follow:

Phil., 177-9 Games that Philomena knows are listed.

Ars, III, 353 ff. Ovid wishes his pupil to be able to play a great many games.

The study of literature is mentioned by both authors (*Phil.* 194-5 and *Ars*, III, 329 ff.).

Singing and playing musical instruments:

⁸ *Philomena* is here considered as a genuine work of Crestien de Troyes. The text has been published in a critical edition by C. de Boer, Paris, 1909. See de Boer's introduction for a discussion of the authenticity of this work.

Phil. 196

Et, quant li plot, li antremetre
Et del sautier et de la lire.
Plus an sot qu'an ne porroit dire
Et de la gigue et de la rote.
Soz ciel n'a lai ne son ne note
Qu'el ne seüst bien viêler,

Ars, III, 317

Et modo marmoreis referant audita theatris
Et modo Niliacis carmina lusa modis!
Nec plectrum dextra, citharam tenuisse sinistra
Nesciat arbitrio femina docta meo:

Disce etiam duplici genalia nablia palma
Verrere:

Hunting and embroidery are substituted by Crestien for dancing that Ovid recommends.

Cligès

I

Cligès, 444

Et la reine voiremant
I amena Soredamors,
Qui desdeigneuse estoit d'amors.
Onques n'avoit oï parler
D'ome qu'ele deignast amer,
Tant eüst biauté ne proesce
Ne seignorie ne hautesce.
Et neporquant la dameisele
Estoit tant avenanz et bele,
Que bien deüst d'amors aprendre,
Se li pleüst a ce antrandre;
Mes onques n'i vost metre antante.
Or la fera Amors dolante
Et mout se cuide bien vengier

Met., XIV, 668

Concubitusque fugis, nec te coniungere curas.
Atque utinam velles! Helene non pluribus esset
Sollicitata procis, nec quae Lapitheia movit
Proelia, nec coniunx timidi, aut audacis Ulixis.
Nunc quoque, cum fugias aversisque petentes,

Mille viri cupiunt et semideique deique
Et quaecumque tenent Albanos numina montes.

Ultioresque deos et pectora dura perosam
Idalien memoremque time

In these two passages Soredamors and Pomona resemble each other by their attractiveness to men and their disdain of love. Both Ovid and Crestien mention the vengeance of Love. It is interesting to note, as well, that both authors give pretended derivations of the names of their heroines (*Met.* XIV, 624 ff., *Cligès*, 962 ff.).

2

Cligès, 460

Bien a Amors droit assené
Qu'el cuer l'a de son dart ferue.

Et maugré suen amer l'estuet

Chieremant achate et conpere
Son grant orguel et son dedaing.

944

Par force a mon orguel donté
Si m'estuet a son pleisir estre.
Or vuel amer, or sui a mestre,
Or m'aprandra Amors—

1030

Mes toz jorz m'an sui estrangiee;
Si le me fet chier comparer;
Qu'or an sai plus que bués d'arer.

Amores 1, 2, 7

Sic erit: haeserunt tenues in corde sagittae,
Et possessa ferus pectora versat Amor
Cedimus an subitum luctando accendimus ignem?
Cedamus! leve fit, quod bene fertur, onus:

Verbera plura ferunt, quam quos iuvat usus aratri,
Detractant prensi dum iuga prima boves;

Acrius invitos multoque ferocius urget,
Quam qui servitium ferre fatentur, Amor.

En ego confiteor: tua sum nova praeda, Cupido;
 Porrigimus victas ad tua iura manus.
 Nil opus est bello:

Soredamors' struggle against her love for Alixandre ending in her defeat at the hands of Cupid forms a little psychological drama (444-529 and 873-1046) based on *Amores* 1, 2. Crestien has imagined the situation of a lover who resists and thereby suffers the punishment that Ovid avoids by yielding to Love at once. It is to be noted especially that Crestien has taken over Ovid's figure of the ox compared to a lover who has struggled against the yoke of Love at first but later has learned to like it.

Within this drama Crestien has used *motifs* from the episodes of Narcissus and of Medea and Jason in the *Metamorphoses*:

3

- Cligès*, 474 Ses iauz de traïson ancuse
 Et dit: "Oel! vos m'avez traïe!

 Que iauz ne voit, ne cuers ne diaut;
 489 Se je nel voi, riens ne m'an iert."

Met. III, 430 Quid videat, nescit: sed quod videt, uritur illo,
 Atque oculos idem, qui decipit, incitat error.

 440 Perque oculos perit ipse suos.

4

- Cligès*, 894 El torner a folie atorne,
 Tot son panser que a fet.
 Lors recomance un autre plet
 Et dit: "Fole! qu'ai je a feire,
 Se cist vaslez est de bon' eire
 Et sages et courtois et preuz?
 A Tot ce li est enors et preuz.
 Et de sa biauté moi que chaut?
 B Sa biautez avuec lui s'an aut!

- Et por quoi pans je plus a lui,
 Se plus d'un autre ne m'agree?
 Ne sai, tote an sui esgaree;
 Car onques mes ne pansai tant
- C A nul home el siecle vivant,
 Et mon vuel toz jorz le verroie,
 Ja mes iauz partir n'an querroie.
- D Tant m'abelist, quant je le voi.
- E Est ce amors? Oil, ce croi.
 Ja tant sovant nel reclamasse,
 Se plus d'un autre ne l'amasse.
- F Or l'aim, bien soit acreanté.—
 Si ne ferai ma volanté?
 Oil, mes que ne li despleise.
- G Ceste volantez est mauveise;
- H Mes Amors m'a si anvaie,
- I Que fole sui et esbaie,
- J Ne deffanse rien ne m'i vaut,
- K Si m'estuet sofrir son assaut.

The above passage is part of a monologue. The monologue is introduced by the statement that Soredamor' suffering from love has turned her reason to folly. Medea's love monologue in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has a similar introduction. An analysis of the two monologues shows a similar, wavering state of mind in both heroines and eleven identical elements though the order in which these elements occur is different: A, beauty and nobleness of hero; B, heroine refuses to be influenced by that beauty; C, heroine notices that her thoughts center in hero; D, she cannot take her gaze from him; E, she questions herself as to whether she loves; F, she decides that she does love; G, she feels that she is being carried on by her emotions against her better judgment; H, but Love is forcing her; I, her reason weakens before Love; J, she resists in vain; K, she must yield.

- Met.* VII, 10 Et luctata diu, postquam ratione furem
 Vincere non poterat, "frustra, Medea, repugnas:
 E Nescio quis deus obstat;" ait "mirumque, nisi hoc est,
 F Aut aliquid certe simile huic, quod amare vocatur.
 Nam cur iussa patris nimium mihi dura videntur?
 Sunt quoque dura nimis, cur, quem modo denique vidi,

- C Ne pereat, timeo? quae tanti causa timoris?
G Excute virgineo conceptas pectore flammās,
I Si potes, infelix. si possem, sanior essem.
H Sed gravat invitam nova vis. aliudque cupido,
Mens aliud suadet. video meliora proboque,
J Deteriora sequor. quid in hospite, regia virgo,
Ureris, et thalamos alieni concipis orbis?
Haec quoque terra potest, quod ames, dare. vivat, an ille
B Occidat, in dis est.
-
(Quem, nisi crudelem, non tangat Iasonis aetas
Et genus et virtus? quem non, ut cetera desint,
Ore movere potest? certe mea pectora movit.)
.
- sed non is vultus in illo,
- A Non ea nobilitas animo est, ea gratia formae,
.
Ergo ego germanam fratremque patremque deosque
G Et natale solum, ventis ablata, relinquam?
.
H Maximus intra me deus est, non magna relinquam:
.
Coniugiumne putas, speciosaque nomina culpae
Inponis, Medea, tuae? quin aspice, quantum
G Aggrediare nefas, et dum licet, effuge crimen."

Medea appears momentarily to have conquered her passion but she meets Jason on the same day and her resolutions do not avail.

- Spectat, et in vultu veluti tum denique viso
Lumina fixa tenet, nec se mortalia demens
D Ora videre putat, nec se declinat ab illo.
.
"Quid faciam, video: nec me ignorantia veri
K Decipiet, sed amor. servabere munere nostro:

5

Cligès, 603

Si se cele et cuevre chascuns,
Que il n'i pert flame ne funs

Del charbon, qui est soz la çandre.
 Por ce n'est pas la chalors mandre,
 Einçois dure la chalors plus
 Dessoz la çandre que dessus.

Met. IV, 63 *Conscius omnis abest, nutu signisque loquuntur,
 Quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis aestuat ignis.*

6

Cligès, 2766 Plus estoit biaux et avenanz
 Que Narcissus, qui dessoz l'orme
 Vit an la fontainne sa forme,
 Si l'ama tant, quant il la vit,
 Por tant qu'il ne la pot avoir.

Met. III, 339 ff. Story of Narcissus.

7

Cligès, 3367 Car por voir cuide et si s'an prise,
 Qu'il et la forteresce prise.

Amor. II, 12, 7 Non humiles muri, non parvis oppida fossis
 Cincta, sed est ductu capta puella meo.

Lancelot

I

Lanc., 569 Et quant plus ne la pot veoir,
 Si se vost jus leissier cheoir
 Et trebuchier a val (from a high tower) son cors.
 Et estoit ja demis defors
 Quant mes sire Gauvains le vit,
 Sel trait arrieres,

Met. V, 291 Seque jactit vecors e summae culmine turris,
 Et cadit in vultus, discussique ossibus oris
 Tundit humum moriens scelerato sanguine tinctam.

These passages describe a reckless action caused in each case by love.

yet it is apparent that the French poet has copied his simile from Ovid. In a similar figure Ovid has a hawk and a duck (*Met.* XI, 773).

2

Yvain, 1436 Que fame a plus de mil corages.

Ars I, 755 Finiturus eram; sed sunt diversa puellis
Pectora: mille animos excipe mille modis!⁹

3

Yvain, 2143 Et les proieres rien n'i grievent,
Ainz li esmuevent et solievent
Le cuer a feire son talant.
Li chevaus, qui ne va pas lant,
S'esforce, quant an l'esperone.

Ars. II, 731 Cum mora non tutast, totis incumbere remis
Utile et admisso subdere calcar equo.

Only the figure of spurring on the impulses of love is borrowed here.

4

Yvain, 2519 Joie d'amor, qui vient a tart,
Sanble la vert busche qui art,
Qui de tant rant plus grant cholor
Et plus se tient an sa valor,
Con plus se tient a alumer.

Ars III, 565 Ille vetus miles sensim et sapienter amabit
Multaque tironi non patienda feret:
Ignibus heu! lentis uretur, ut umida faena,
Ut modo montanis silva recisa iugis.
Certior hic amor est,

⁹ Professor Nitze has compared this line of *Yvain* to Vergil, *Aeneis*, IV, 569:

... Varium et mutabile semper
Femina,

The present author believes that both Vergil and Ovid had a strong influence on *Yvain*. The matter will be taken up in detail in a later study to be devoted to the Classical sources of this work.

To this Crestien seems to have added *Heroides* IV, 19 ff. as his source:

Venit amor gravius quo serius: urimur intus:

Quae venit exacto tempore, peius amat.

5

Yvain, 2719

Le desleal, le traïtor,
Le mançongier, le jangleor,
Qui l'a leissiee et deceüe.
" Bien a sa jangle aparceüe,
Qui se feisoit verais amerre,
S'estoit faus et traître et lerre.

Si a teus, qui larrons les claimment,
Qui an amor vont faunoiant

Et cil sont larron ipocrite
Et traïtor, qui metent luite
As cuers anbler, dont aus ne chaut;

Ars III, 441

Sunt, qui mandaci specie grassentur amoris
Perque aditus talis lucra pudenda petant.
Nec coma vos fallat liquido nitidissima nardo
etc.
Forsitan ex horum numero cultissimus ille
Fur sit et uratur vestis amore tuae.

6

Yvain, 4348

Et met son cuer an tel esprueve,
Qu'il le retient et si l'afraïne,
Si con l'an retient a grant painne
Au fort frain le cheval tirant.

Amores,

II, 9, 29 Ut rapit in praeceps dominum spumantia frustra
Frena retentantem durior oris equus,

In spite of the difference in the context it is clear that Crestien took

his figure from Ovid, who compares the impetuosity of his love to a hard-mouthed horse.

7

Yvain, 4570

Et cil furent ars an la re,
Qui por li ardoir fu esprise;
Car ce est reisons de justise,
Que cil, qui autrui juge a tort,
Doit de cele meisme mort
Morir que il li a jugiee.

Ars I, 653

Et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli
Torruit: infelix inbuit auctor opus.
Iustus uterque fuit: neque enim lex aequior ullast,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Perceval

3817
(Potvin, 5029)

Que l'une chose l'autre atret.
N'en fist il apres tot son bien?
Oil ce ne crese ja nus
Qu'il la beisast sanz fere plus
Que l'une chose l'autre atret.

Fame qui sa boche abandone
Le soreplus de legier done
C'est qui a certes le demant
E bien soit qu'ele se desfant
Si set an bien tot sans redot
Que fame vialt vaintre partot
Fors a cele meslee sole
Qu'ele tient home par la gole
(E) l'esgratine e mort e tue
Si voldroit ele estre vaincue
Si se desfant e si li tarde
Tant est de l'otroier coarde
Si vialt que a force li face
Si n'an avra ja gré ne grace.

Ars I, 664

Illa licet non det, non data sume tamen!
Pugnabit primo fortassis et "inprobe" dicet:
Pugnando vinci se tamen illa volet;

Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et cetera sumpsit,
Haec quoque, quae data sunt, perdere dignus erit.

Vim licet appelles, gratast vis ista puellis:
Quod iuvat, invitae saepe dedisse volunt.
Quaecumquest Veneris subita violata rapina,
Gaudet, et improbitas muneris instar habet;
At quae cum posset cogi, non tacta recessit,
Ut simulet vultu gaudia, tristis erit.

LYRICS¹⁰

I, 1 Amors, tançon et bataille
Vers son champion a prise,
Qui por li tant se travaille,
Qui a desresnier sa franchise
A tote s'antante mise:

Amores II, 9, 1 Onumquam pro me satis indigne Cupido,
Quid me, qui miles numquam tua signa reliqui,
Laedis, et in castris vulneror ipse meis?

Guillaume d'Angleterre

This poem contains a description of a storm imitated from Ovid, *Tristia* I, 2, 19 ff. The citations are here divided into sections in order to show the comparison between them more clearly.

G., 2303-8 La mers qui or estoit igaus
Est plainne de monz et de vaus,
Et ja font si hautes les ondes
Et les valees si parfondes,
Que il ne pueent estal prandre
Ne de monter ne de desçandre.

T. I, 2, 19-22 Me miserum, quanti montes vulvuntur aquarum!
Iam iam tacturos sidera summa putes.
Quantae diductu subsidunt aequore valles!
Iam iam tacturas Tartara nigra putes.

¹⁰ Only the two lyrics printed by Wendelin Foerster (*Woerterbuch*, 204 ff.) will be considered here. These two were accepted as genuine poems of Crestien de Troyes by Foerster and Gaston Paris (see Foerster, *Wtb.*, 203).

- G., 2311 Li ciaus troble, li ers espoisse:
Or est a vis que la mers croisse,
- T., 23 Quocumque aspicio, nihil est nisi pontus et aër,
Fluctibus hic tumidus, nubibus ille minax.
- G., 2314 Li mestre mariniers s'esmaie,
2318 La nef tot de plain abandonne
Et la leisse tote an balance.
- T., 31 Rector in incerto est, nec quid fugiatve petatve
Invenit: ambiguus ars stupet ipsa malis.
- G., 2315-16 Qui voit les vanz tancier toz quatre,
A l'er et a la mer combatre,
- T., 25 Inter utrumque fremunt inmani murmure venti.
Nescit, cui domino pareat, unda maris.
Nam modo purpureo vires capit eurus ab ortu,
Nunc zephyrus sero vespere missus adest,
Nunc sicca gelidus boreas bacchatur ab arcto,
Nunc notus adversa proelia fronte gerit.

C

EPISODES

Many episodes in Crestien's works are clearly inspired by Ovid. These will be listed rapidly with brief comment or reference.

Cligès

The love episodes in this romance between Alixandre and Soredamors (441 ff.) and between Cligès and Fenice (2800 ff.) are, as will appear more fully in the course of this study, of Ovidian inspiration. The truth of this statement is evidenced by the physical and mental effects of love enumerated by Crestien, the psychological analysis of love, the long love-monologues, the treatment of love as a disease and also as a science to be taught and learned, and the use of particular terms, metaphors, and similes all in the manner of Ovid.

Lancelot

Throughout Crestien's *Lancelot* there runs a theme of extreme tyranny of love, imperious and humiliating treatment by the loved lady, and abject obedience on the part of the lover. Such a conception of love is distinctly Ovidian.¹¹ This matter will be discussed under the head of the nature and effects of love in Ovid and Crestien. The theme in question is developed by a series of episodes which, though mostly of Crestien's own invention, may be due to Ovidian suggestion. Such are (1) the incident of the cart (323 ff.), (2) Lancelot's obedience in ceasing to attack Meleaganz at a word from Guenevire (3806 ff.), (3) Guenevire's refusal to greet Lancelot, her rescuer (3955 ff.), (4) The tournament in which Lancelot plays the coward at the command of the Queen (5656 ff.).

The third of these incidents is undoubtedly of direct Ovidian inspiration. The Queen leaves Lancelot without speaking to him and passes into another room thus shutting herself off from her lover in the manner so frequently recommended by Ovid.¹²

The fourth is probably an adaptation of the *Three Days Tournament*—a widely diffused tale—but it is used by Crestien to serve a purpose suggested by his Ovidian theme.¹³

There are several episodes or incidents in this romance that illustrate other effects of love than that of slavish obedience. Those that are to be considered as due to the influence of Ovid are such as tend to exemplify traits of that poet's conception of love. The incidents will be listed with an indication of the trait that Crestien is treating.

(1) Lancelot's attempt to throw himself from a high tower has

¹¹ The influence of Provençal literature on Crestien and an estimate of its importance is reserved for a later study.

¹² *Ars* II, 523; *Ars* III, 579 ff.; *Amores* II, 19, 20, etc.

¹³ On the *Three Days Tournament* see Jessie L. Weston's book with this title, London, 1902, and the review of the same by W. A. Nitze, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVIII (1902), 154 ff. Both Miss Weston and Professor Nitze believe that the episode in question was already in a version of Lancelot previous to that of Crestien; and Professor Nitze believes that the cowardice *motif* had been introduced into the episode before Crestien used it. The present author is of the opinion that Crestien is responsible for its introduction in order to show the obedience of the lover to his lady.

already been mentioned above. (2) The feeling of courage and strength without limitation, produced by love, is illustrated by Lancelot's unrestricted promises to the maiden who directs him and his companion Gauvain in their pursuit of Meleaganz (631 ff.). (3) Mental absorption that leads to more or less serious disasters occurs when Lancelot is carried into the ford contrary to the admonition of a knight who then strikes him from his horse into the water (715 ff.). (4) The attempt of a young woman to seduce Lancelot (942 ff.) may have been suggested by the frequent approaches made by women to obtain the love of men in Ovid's works.¹⁴ (5) The sight of some of Guenievre's hair in the teeth of a comb that she has left near a fountain nearly causes Lancelot to faint. Fainting is one of the symptoms of the Ovidian love-sickness. (6) Strength and courage to endure the deep cuts of the sword-bridge are given to Lancelot by love (3126 ff.). (7) Another case of mental absorption tending to partial mental derangement occurs in the first tournament with Meleaganz when Lancelot is obliged to deliver backward blows because he is unable to turn his gaze away from the Queen (3691 ff.). (8) An adaptation of the Pyramus and Thisbe story furnishes an episode in our romance (4153 ff.). Lancelot is compared to Pyramus (3821). Both Lancelot and Guenievre are led to believe that the other is dead. Lancelot attempts suicide and Guenievre contemplates it. The fact that neither accomplishes actual suicide does not lessen the probability that Crestien is adapting Ovid's plot to his own needs.¹⁵

¹⁴ Echo (*Met.* III), Scylla (*Met.* VIII), Byblis (*Met.* IX), Myrrha (*Met.* X), etc.

For a discussion of the same situation in Celtic stories, see T. P. Cross, "The Celtic Elements in the Lays of Lanval and Graelent," *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1914-1915), 594 ff.

¹⁵ The twelfth century version of Ovid's story (edited by C. de Boer, *Pyrame et Thisbé, texte normand du XII^e siècle* in *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde* (Nieuwe Reeks), Deel XII, n° 3, 1911), may be, in part, responsible for Crestien's interest in this tale. A similar situation is to be found in *Erec et Enide* (4608 ff.). Enide, believing Erec to be dead is about to kill herself with Erec's sword. There is an apostrophe of Death that recalls *Pyrame et Thisbé*. In *Erec* we have the following lines:

4656

Morz que demore et que atant,
Que ne me prant sanz nul respit?

Incident 7 is almost certainly due to a suggestion from the *Amores*. Here Ovid states that, if he were driving horses in a race under the eyes of his mistress, he would be spurred on to great efforts; but if he should happen to gaze upon her the reins would fall from his hands. Then he cites the case of Pelops who was nearly killed by his opponent while he was looking toward his mistress; and yet his final victory was due to the favor of his mistress. Lancelot's situation is similar. While looking backward at his mistress, and unable to take his eyes from her, he is in danger of being quickly killed, but when he manages to get Meleaganz between himself and the Queen he defeats his opponent because of the strength that the sight of Guenievre gives him.

The passages follow:

Lancelot, 3691 Ne puis l'ore qu'il l'aparçut
Ne se torna ne ne se mut
Devers li ses iauz ne sa chiere,
Ainz se deffandoit par derriere.

3727 Lors saut arriere et fet son tor
Et met antre lui et la tor
Melegant trestot a force

3738 Et force et hardemanz li croïst,
Qu'amors li fet mout grant aïe

Amor. Si mihi currenti fueris conspecta, morabor,
III, 2, 13 De que meis manibus lora remissa fluent.
At quam paene Pelops Pisaea considit hasta,
Dum spectat vultus, Hippodamia, tuos!
Nempe favore suae vicit tamen ille puellae.
Vincamus dominae quisque favore suae!

In *Pyrame et Thisbé* we read:

754 Morz, que demors? Qar me prens!
He, Morz,
Por quoi demore? c'est granz torz

In *Lancelot*, there is a similar apostrophe to Death:

4281 Hal morz, con m'as or agueitie,

Crestien used the suicide *motif* of this Ovidian tale again in *Yvain* (3496 ff.).
See below.

Yvain

I

Yvain first sees Laudine at the funeral of her dead husband; he is so deeply impressed by her beauty in the midst of her mourning that he immediately falls in love with her.

1406 Quant an ot anfoï le mort,
 S'an partirent totes les janx
 Clers ne chevaliers ne serjanx
 Ne dame n'i remest que cele,
 Qui sa dolor mie ne cele.

The grief of Laudine is described at length and her beautiful hair and her weeping are dwelt upon. This episode was clearly suggested to Crestien by the following lines of the *Ars amatoria* which Crestien himself tells us he turned into French (*Cligès*, 3):

III, 431 Funere saepe viri vir quaeritur: ipse solitis
 Crinibus et fletus non tenuisse decet.

2

The winning of Laudine's love is doubtless elaborated from Ovid's advice to seek the aid of a serving girl enjoying the full confidence of the lady:

Ars I, 351 Sed prius ancillam captandae nosse puellae
 Cura sit ancessus molliet illa tuos.
 Proxima consiliis dominae sit ut illa, videto,
 Neve parum tacitis conscia fida iocis;

 Quod petis, ex facili, si volet illa, feres.
 Illa leget tempus (medici quoque tempora servant),
 Quo facilis dominae mens sit et apta capi.

Crestien has known how to follow these directions to the letter. Yvain's suit would have been hopeless without Lunete; with her help Laudine was quickly won. Lunete had the entire confidence of her mistress; and she knew how to choose the proper moment for each move (1589 ff.).

3

The scene where Yvain is brought before Laudine must be added to those that are due to Ovid's influence (1950). Our hero who never knew fear in the face of gravest dangers now trembles with love-fright. Then follows the confession of love which shows a submissiveness to the will of his lady that recalls Ovidian love. Yvain gives an explanation of the entrance of love through the eyes into the heart which is similar to the reasoning in *Cligès* (474 ff.), noted above and traced for its source to the Narcissus episode of the *Metamorphoses* (*Yvain*, 2013 ff.).

4

The refusal of Laudine to allow Yvain to return drives the latter mad. He flees all human contact and roams in the wilderness for a long time (2775). This is a well known Ovidian theme and it is probable that Ovid's influence was of great importance in Crestien's choice of the *motif*.¹⁶

5

The Pyramus and Thisbe theme reappears in *Yvain* (3490 ff.) in a curiously contorted form. Yvain, cured of his insanity, returns to Laudine's fountain where thoughts of his lady and his grief at having lost her love cause him to faint. As he falls his sword slips from the scabbard and wounds him slightly in the neck. The faithful lion, now accompanying him, believes Yvain is dead. Immediately the lion props the sword against a tree and rushes upon it in an attempt to take its own life. Yvain recovers from his swoon and, moved by the devotion of the lion, is about to kill himself. He is arrested in this intention, however, by the sound of a woman's voice coming from within a nearby chapel. Lunete is imprisoned in the chapel, but she is able to converse with Yvain through a

¹⁶ Among the best examples of this theme in Ovid are those of Biblis (*Met.* IX, 635 ff.) and Canens (*Met.* XIV, 422 ff.). Some scholars believe that Crestien took the theme from the Tristan story (see Foerster, *Wtb.*, 123). A. C. L. Brown ("Iwain, A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance," *Harv. Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, VIII, Boston, 1903) claims that this *motif* was already in Crestien's Celtic source. Cf. W. A. Nitze, "Castle of the Grail," *Elliott Studies*, Johns Hopkins University, 1911, I, 48.

crack in the wall. This crack recalls at once the one through which Pyramus and Thisbe talked (*Met.* IV, 65 ff.). The roles of the lion, the girl, and the young man in the two stories are of course changed about. It is interesting to note also that the scene of the incident in *Yvain* resembles that of the Ovidian tale. In both cases we have a fountain of cold water overshadowed by a single tree, large and handsome, with a small building near by.¹⁷

6

The incident of the burning of Laudine's counsellors, who had urged that Lunete be burned to death, was suggested, in all probability, by a passage in the *Ars amatoria*. There it is stated, as in Crestien, that to inflict upon contrivers of death the punishment of their own wicked inventions is just. The passages have been cited above (under B *Yvain*, 7).

7

Finally Laudine is won a second time by the aid of Lunete in a manner similar to the first (6556 ff.).

D

Characters

Cligès

The four lovers in this story could never have been imagined without Ovid, as will appear clearly enough from our study of their language and actions. Thessala, Fenice's nurse, is an unmistakable descendant of Ovid's nurses and confidants who aid their mistresses in matters of love. Moreover, Crestien informs us that she was named from the country of Thessaly (3006). This is

¹⁷ For description of the fountains see lines 380 ff. of *Yvain* and *Met.* IV, 88 ff. It is not claimed that the fountain itself was suggested to Crestien by Ovid. Crestien's fountain is identified with a spring actually existing in the Broceliande forest in Brittany (see Foerster, *Wtb.*, 29). Crestien may have taken the idea of the fountain from Wace (*ibid.*, 106). On rain springs see G. L. Hamilton, "Storm-Making Springs, Rings of Invisibility and Protection. Studies on the Sources of the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes," *Rom. Rev.*, II (1911), 355 ff.; V (1914), 213 ff. See also A. C. L. Brown, *op. cit.*, 145, for other-world elements in this scene.

the country of Medea (*Met.* VII, 10 ff.) with whom Crestien compares Thessala. Thessala has magic powers like Medea:

3029 D'anchantemanz et de charaies
Bien esprovees et veraies
Plus qu'onques Medea ne sot;

Lancelot

Lancelot is Crestien's closest imitation of an Ovidian lover, suffering extreme peril, hardship, and humiliation in the service of his lady to whom he is abjectly obedient.

Guenievre, the imperious lady, is also modeled on the basis of Ovidian precepts and examples. If she was originally a Celtic fairy-mistress, her original character would have served as an excellent ground figure upon which the Ovidian type as Crestien refashioned it could easily have been superposed.

Yvain

Yvain has many characteristics of the Ovidian lover. His language and actions furnish sufficient evidence.

Laudine is another imperious type, similar to Guenievre, though less pronounced.

Lunete is one of the finest descendants of Ovid's Dipsas (*Amores* I, 8, 2), Cypassis (*Amores* II, 7, 17), and Nape (*Amores* I, 11, 2), to be found in literature, but lifted to a moral plane far above the usual example of this type.

Perceval

The heorine of the only love-episode in *Perceval* (1911 ff. of Baist's text; Potwin, 3127 ff.) resembles Ovid's women by making the love advances herself. She also shows the Ovidian love symptoms.

E

NATURE AND EFFECTS OF LOVE

In the works of Ovid love is frequently personified as a god of irresistible power, as a tyrant who tortures his victims cruelly or

punishes them with great severity. This harshness is sometimes treated as vengeance that Love takes on those who resist his will. He is provided with arrows which wound the hearts of lovers. Within his victims' breasts he enkindles the fire of love. On the other hand, love inspires men with great courage and increases their strength to a remarkable degree.

Ovid also considers love as a science or art that must be learned. In the *Ars amatoria* Ovid poses as the teacher of love. At other times love is a sort of warfare. Love is the leader and the lover is a soldier. In Ovid's works love is also treated as a disease and Ovid becomes the doctor of love in the *Remedia amoris*.

The love-sickness is distinguished from all other diseases by the peculiarity of being both pleasant and painful at the same time. The effects or symptoms of love are paleness, trembling, fear, loss of appetite, sighing, sleeplessness, weeping, crying out, fainting, mental absorption often leading to insane action and causing loss of the senses, insanity, and even death. The disease can be cured by the lover; that is, by a return of affection.

The evidence bearing on this division of our study will be arranged according to the above analysis. Only a small number of references to Ovid's works will be given. Then will follow details from each of Crestien's works except *Erec* and *Guillaume d'Angleterre*. In these two poems the author treats love in a manner free from Ovidian influence.

Ovid

God of love, irresistible:

Her. IX, 25 Quem non mille ferae, quem non Stheneleius hostis,
Non potuit Iuno vincere, vincit Amor.

Met. V, 369 Tu superos ipsumque Iovem, tu numina ponti
Victa domas ipsumque, regit qui numina ponti.

The power of Love appears in *Amores* I, 2.

Love tortures:

Amores I, 1, 25 Me miserum! certas habuit puer ille sagittas:
Uror, et in vacuo pectore regnat Amor.

Amores II, 9, 5 Cur tua fax urit, figit tuns arcus amicos?

14 Ossibus? ossa mihi nuda relinquit amor.

Vengeance:

Amores I, 2, 17 Acrius invitos multoque ferocius urget,
Quam qui servitium ferre fatentur, Amor.

Arrows: *Amores* I, 1, 25, etc.

Fire of love: *Amores* I, 1, 26; *ibid*, I, 2, 11, etc.

Love gives courage and strength:

Ovid has given force to this commonplace. Leander braves the cold waves; when he comes within sight of his mistress, his strength is redoubled (*Epist.* XVII, 93-4) and the thought of Hero gives strength to his arms while swimming (161 ff.). Scylla leaps into the sea and swims after Minos' ship. Love gives her strength (*Met.* VIII, 143).

Love, a science or art: *Ars amatoria*.

Love treated as warfare: *Amores* I, 9; II, 12.

Love as a disease—effects or symptoms:

Pleasant and painful: *Amores* I, 8, 104:

In pia sub dulci melle venena latent.

Rem. Am., 138:

Haec sunt iucundi causa cibusque mali;

Paleness: *Ars* I, 729; *Her.* XI, 27; *Met.* IX, 536, 581; *Met.* X, 459.

Trembling: *Ars* III, 722; *Her.* III, 82; *Met.* IX, 521; X, 458.

Fear: *Ars* I, 608; *Met.* VII, 47; X, 458; XIII, 858.

Loss of appetite: *Her.* XI, 28; *Met.* III, 437; XIV, 424.

Sighing: *Ars* III, 675; *Her.* XVI, 79; *Met.* IX, 537; X, 402; XIII, 739.

Sleeplessness: *Ars* I, 735; *Her.* XI, 29; *Met.* III, 396; VI, 493; VIII, 109.

Weeping: *Her.* VIII, 109; *Met.* III, 475; VII, 91; VIII, 109; IX, 536, 656.

Crying out: *Her.* VIII, 107; *Met.* IX, 643; X, 423.

Fainting: *Her.* II, 130; *Her.* III, 60.

Mental absorption: *Met.* V, 290 ff.; VIII, 140 ff.; III, 339 ff.;

Amor. III, 2, 13.

Insanity: *Ars* III, 713; *Met.* III, 350, 474; IX, 635 ff.; XIV, 422.

Death: *Met.* III, 445, 470, 498, 570; IX, 450; X, 420; XIV, 430.

Cure for love:

1. *Remedia amoris.*

2. Return of affection cures: Paris alone can cure Oenone (*Her.* V, 153-4); Phaedra appeals to Hippolytus (*Her.* IV); Hermione declares that she will die unless Orestes becomes her husband (*Her.* VIII, 121).

Philomena

Several Ovidian elements enter into Crestien's treatment of the love-situation in this story that are not to be found in Ovid's own version. Love is represented as an irresistible god who has attacked Tereus and conquered him by cunning and deceit. By means of quickly flaming fire Love torments him (234 ff.). This description of the inception of love in Tereus' breast is curiously like the beginning of *Amores*, I, 2. The passages follow:

Phil., 234

Qui porroit Amors contrestier
Que trestot son voloir ne face?

Qu'Amors a vers lui prise guerre,
S'est angniez et mal bailliz,
Qu'au cuer li est li feus sailliz
Qui de legier art et esprant.

Amor. I, 2, 5

Nam, puto, sentirem, siquo temptarer amore.

An subit et tecta callidus arte nocet?

Sic erit: haeserunt tenues in corde sagittae,

Et possessa ferus pectora versat Amor.

Cedimus an subitum luctando accendimus ignem?

Those who rebel are treated more harshly than those who yield:

Phil., 440

Et cil qui plus s'an plaint et diaut
Plus alume et plus an esprant,

These lines also recall *Amores* I, 2 :

- 17 Acrius invitus multoque ferocius urget,
 Quam qui servitium ferre fatentur, Amor.

Love as warfare :

Not only do we find this Ovidian metaphor in *Philomena*, but also, accompanying it several other elements that seem to show that Crestien is directly influenced by *Amores* II, 9. Those elements are the idea of disloyal Love (404) who mistreats his friends (406), who is fickle and changeable as the wind :

- Phil.*, 425 Amors est plus que vanz legiere ;
 Por ce est fausse et mançongiere

- Amor.* II, 9, 31 Ut subitus, prope iam presa tellure, carinam
 Tangentem portus ventus in alta rapit,
 Sic me saepe refert incerta Cupidinis aura,

Love torments especially his faithful followers (429-32) ; yet they will not leave his service, for they never tire of loving (433-38). We read in Ovid's elegy :

- 25 "Vive" deus "posito" siquis mihi dicat "amore,"
 Deprecer: usque adeo dulce puella malumst.

Tereus shows symptoms of love-sickness. He sighs (386, 459), becomes speechless (390), weeps (459), and is even on the verge of madness (392). Lovers are said to cry out on account of the pain of love (400). And Ovid's half line "cura removenste soporem" is expanded into the following :

- Phil.*, 644 Onques Tereus cele nuit
 Ne prist au lit pes ne repos,
 N'onques por dormir n'ot l'uel clos ;
 Tant con la nuit dura
 Tote nuit son lit misura,

 Ou del travers ou del belonc,
 Et se demante par selonc,

Que tant demore qu'il ajorne;
Tote nuit se torne et retorne
Et se relieve et se recouche.

The above passage is evidently based on *Amores* I, 2, 1-4:¹⁸

Esse quid hoc dicam, quod tam mihi dura videntur
Strata, neque in lecto pallia nostra sedent,
Et vacuus somno noctem, quam longa, peregi,
Lassaque versati corporis ossa dolent?

Cligès

Love personified as a god of irresistible and tyrannical power:
463, 528-9, 663, 933-5, 3012, 4325, 4428, 4464.

Torture of lovers: 573, 666, 692-4, 675, 682, 689, 879, 3820,
3912-14, 4575, 5075, 5100.

Love takes vengeance: 457, 468, 1032.

Love's arrows: 461, 693, 778 ff.

Fire of love: 470, 591-608.

Love gives courage: 3804, 6191.

Love increases strength of lover: 3903, 4122, 4128.

Love as a science: 453-5, 683-6, 946-7.

Love as warfare: 574, 863, 3367-8.

Love as a disease:

Painful and pleasant: 472-3, 478-512, 867 ff., 3070-3120, 4576.

Paleness: 462, 543, 1592, 2118, 2994, 3011, 3016, 3049, 4354-5,
4364, 5126.

Trembling: 544, 883, 887.

Loss of appetite: 4382-3.

Sighing: 544, 887, 4328, 4359, 6229.

Sleeplessness: 621, 877, 882, 2992, 5285.

Weeping: 882, 886, 4294, 4328, 4359, 4365, 4367, 6229.

Crying out: 617, 882.

Mental derangement verging on insanity: 511-12, 626-7, 630, 632,
897, 920, 934, 1643, 3093, 3098, 6058, 6141.

Death: 858, 2300-1, 4350, 4456, 4483, 4519.

¹⁸ No attention will be paid in this essay to the presence in other poems of the period of passages similar to those that are cited from Crestien's works.

Curing the love-sickness: 634-600 (Alixandre refers to Soredamors as the one who could cure him. This manner of expression has already been noted for Ovid), 3093, 3137, 4351, 4380-6, 5071, 5092 ff., 5707 ff., 6255-7.

Crestien has added two symptoms of love-sickness not to be found in Ovid; namely, sweating (462) and yawning (885).

Lancelot

Love personified as an irresistible god: 376 ff., 1245 ff., 1348 ff.

Torture: 1349, 4392. The power and tyranny of Love is usually transferred, in this romance, to the lady; she tries and humiliates the lover, exacting and obtaining implicit obedience: 3816 ff., 3955 ff., 4501, 5656 ff. Crestien's use of this element of the Ovidian love-treatment is very important, for it gives the peculiar tone of Crestien's version of the *Lancelot* story. Although Marie de Champagne and the Provençal poets may have been responsible for the theme of frank adultery in *Lancelot* and though the elevation of the mistress far above the humble lover is characteristic of Provençal poetry, yet it is clear from F. L. Mott's thorough study of Provençal lyrics¹⁹ that the literary theories of the South of France previous to Crestien furnish insufficient material to serve as the source of Crestien's conception of love in this romance. Not only is the lady exalted far above the lover but she is also an imperious and tyrannical mistress and the slavishly obedient lover is subjected to harsh treatment and humiliating commands. The Provençal lover was not reduced to such ignominious slavery.²⁰ Although the lover complained in Provençal lyrics of the cruelty of his mistress, this cruelty was only the withholding of her love and previous to Crestien we do not find cases of actual tormenting of the lover by his mistress in the poems of the troubadours nor do we find humiliations being inflicted upon the lover by his mistress. According to Ovid, however, who is the only model for such a love conception previous to Crestien and accessible to him, the lover must be ready to endure the most shameful humiliations and gladly make himself the slave of his mistress. In imitation of Ovid our author has

¹⁹ L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, London, Boston, 1904.

²⁰ Cf. Joseph Anglade, *Les Troubadours*, Paris, 1908, 77.

Guenievre shut her door against Lancelot (3985). The other humiliations to which Lancelot is subjected are inventions of Crestien or of Marie. It was necessary to find new ways of developing this theme because the particular methods of Ovid were not suitable for a romance of the twelfth century.

Evidence of this conception in the works of Ovid is abundant. In the *Ars amatoria*, one of the works of Ovid that Crestien translated, this theme is developed by precept and example. Patience is recommended:

II, 177 Si nec blanda satis, nec erit tibi comis amanti,
Perfer et obdura! postmodo mitis erit.

Ovid teaches obedience to the will of the loved lady; he cites the case of Atalanta's cruelty toward her lover, Milanion, and the trials that he endured. The precepts of Ovid's art require the observance of the following rules:

Ars II, 197 Cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis;
Fac modo, quas partis illa iubebit, agas!

The lover must not be ashamed to do anything for the sake of love. The cases of Hercules and of Phoebus Apollo are cited as examples of extreme humiliation endured by lovers (*Ars* II, 209 ff.).²¹

Love as a science: 4372 ff.

Love-sickness:

Paleness: 1448-9; fear (3932, 4495 ff.); loss of appetite (4263); loss of power of speech (1448); loss of hearing (748 ff.); sighing (4721); weeping (3998, 4721); fainting (1437 ff.); mental absorption (564 ff., 3691 ff.); death (supposed death, suicide contemplated, attempted or nearly effected) 4232 ff., 4249, 4276 ff., 4494. The notion of curing this disease occurs (1350 ff., 1584 ff.).

Yvain

Love, a resistless god: 1357, 1442 ff. 2139 ff., 5377 ff., provided with arrows: 5382.

²¹ Other striking passages are: *Amores* II, 17, 1 ff.; *Her.* IV, 154-5; *Her.* IX, 65 ff.; *Epist.* XIX, 77 ff. Many more passages could be cited.

Love's tyranny transferred to lady: 1362, 1975 ff., 4588 ff., 4596.

Love as warfare: 1337 ff.

Love-sickness: fear (1950); sighing (2579, 4352); sleeplessness (2756); weeping (2579, 2615, 2627, 2634); fainting (3497); insanity (2775 ff.); contemplation of suicide or attempted suicide (3532 ff., 6514). The curing of love is discussed (1373, 2551, 5382 ff.) and the lover is referred to as a doctor (1374).

Perceval

In *Perceval* we find love personified as a god whose power is irresistible: 4823 ff.

Love is treated as warfare: 3830 ff.

Love produces the usual physical and mental effects: Trembling (1938-9); sighing (1942); sleeplessness (1926 ff.); weeping (1942); mental absorption and consequent loss of hearing (4206 ff.); madness (8912 ff.). Perspiring occurs also as an effect of love (1929).

LYRICS

In the lyrics love is personified as a god of irresistible power. In the first lyric love is treated as warfare.

F

OVID'S INFLUENCE ON CRESTIEN'S STYLE

The twelfth century was a period of renewed interest in the Latin classics in France. Crestien copied the Latin Classics much as the *Pléiade* did in the sixteenth century, taking their literary figures and making them his own in an attempt to develop a richer style. It was on the works of Ovid in particular that Crestien modeled his rhetorical style, copying the Latin poet's dramatic love-monologue and pilfering literary figures. Crestien's lovers, except in *Erec* and in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, speak in Ovidian terms. In *Philomena*, *Cligès* and the later romances, love is treated in a highly rhetorical manner.

Ovid's *Heroides*, though written in the form of letters, are really psychological analyses of the various lovers' states of mind.

They are, in fact, nothing more nor less than love-monologues in which the supposed writer of each letter reveals his inmost thoughts and feelings. Through the *Metamorphoses* are scattered a number of love-monologues²² in which the speaker gives a natural and complete exposure of the various, disconnected, incoherent thoughts that pass through his mind at a moment of strong emotional excitement. The speaker addresses numerous questions to himself and gives wavering answers which reveal the mental struggle or uncertainty to which the person is subjected. These monologues are preceded or followed by comments on the part of the author so that they appear like little psychological dramas introduced by an author's prologue and followed by his comments.

Crestien has copied exactly this method of procedure as is most clearly evidenced by the comparison that we have made, above, of Medea's monologue (*Met.* VII, 11 ff.) to that of Soredamors (*Cligès*, 879 ff.). Both poets show an equal interest in the psychology of human actions; and they are both clever in analyzing and explaining the motives that underlie the behavior of their characters. The mediaeval poet has put a more strictly logical order into the thoughts of his characters, thinking thereby, no doubt, to improve on his model. Such monologues are found in *Cligès* (475-523, 626-872, 897-1046, 4410-4574), *Lancelot* (4215-4262, 4336-4414), and *Yvain* (1428-1506, 1760-1772, 3531-62).

We have already shown that Crestien copied Ovid's personification of love as a god; and we have noted the French poet's use of the Ovidian metaphors of love as a fire, as a science, as warfare, and as a disease in our discussion of the nature and effects of love in the works of Ovid and of Crestien. The language cannot be separated from the conception. Therefore Crestien, in adopting Ovid's treatment of love necessarily imitated the Latin poet's style.

Additional figures borrowed from Ovid by Crestien in *Cligès* are the metaphor of the strong roots of love:

651

Li miens (love)est si anracinez,
Qu'il ne peut estre mecinez.

²² See *Metamorphoses*, III, 442 ff.; IV, 108 ff., 148 ff.; VII, 11 ff.; VIII, 44 ff.; IX, 474 ff.; 585 ff., 726 ff.; X, 320 ff., 612 ff.

Cf. Edmond Faral, "Ovide et quelques autres sources du Roman l'Énéas," *Romania*, XL (1911), 229 ff.; also Gaston Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française*, 276.

654 Des que primes cest mal santi,
Se mostrer l'osasse ne dire,
Pois je parler a mire,
Qui del tot me poist eidier;

This metaphor is taken from the *Remedia amoris*. The command is

91 Principiis obstat:

for love like a tree quickly sends out strong roots. When it was young it could easily have been pulled up. Crestien has this same idea (654 ff.) But soon the roots have grown too deep:

Remedia, 87 Nunc stat in inmensum viribus acta suis.
106 Et mala radices altius arbor agit.²³

The metaphor of the lover storming a castle (*Cligès*, 3367-8) has already been shown to be a borrowing from *Amores* II, 12, 7-8.²⁴

Two Ovidian similes appear in *Cligès*. The first is the comparison of secret love to fire under ashes (*Cligès*, 604-8 and *Met.* IV, 63-4).²⁵ The second is the comparison of the lover to an ox (*Cligès*, 1033 and *Amores* I, 2, 13-14).²⁶

Lancelot contains two Ovidian metaphors other than those that have to do with the nature or effect of love. The first is the figure of sailing and arriving in port. This figure is mingled with that of love as a disease that is cured by the presence of the loved lady. Ovid is very fond of both of these figures and, though Crestien has used them in an original manner, yet we find the two figures of arriving in port and of curing the love-sickness combined by Ovid also at the end of the *Remedia amoris*. Both passages follow:

Lancelot, 1582 "Mout ai or bien et droit nagie
Qu'a mout buen port sui arivez.
Or sui je toz descheitiez:

²³ This metaphor had already been used in *Philomena*:

443 Amors est maus don la mecine
L'anfermete plus anracine.

²⁴ See our section B, above; seventh citation from *Cligès*.

²⁵ The lines have already been cited above (B, *Cligès*, 5).

²⁶ These passages have been cited above (B, *Cligès*, 2).

De peril sui venuz a port,
De grant enui a grant deport,
De grant dolor a grant santé;

Remedia, 812 Contigimus portus, quo mihi cursus erat.
Postmodo reddetis sacro pia vota poetae,
Carmine sanati femina virque meo.

The second figure is that of night defeating day at twilight. In Ovid night throws her dark cape over the world; in Crestien night covers the conquered day with her cape (*Lancelot*, 4560 ff. and *Met.* XV, 651-2).²⁷

In *Yvain* love is personified as a god; it is treated metaphorically as a wound (5382), as warfare, and as a disease.²⁸ There is also the metaphor of love being deeply rooted (2525). In addition this romance contains four similes that were unquestionably copied from Ovid or modeled upon figures from his works and a fifth that may have been suggested by Ovid. The first four have been cited above (B)²⁹ as passages showing direct borrowing on the part of Crestien from Ovid. The fifth is the comparison of Gauvain to the sun because he is the greatest of all knights and illumines knighthood just as the sun spreads light in every place where its rays shine. Ovid has a similar passage in praise of Augustus wherein he compares the deeds of the Roman emperor, the most powerful man in the world, to the dazzling light of the sun.

Yvain, 2400 Cil qui des chevaliers fu sire
Et qui sor toz fu renomez,
Doit bien solauz clamez.
Por mon seignor Gauvain le di;
Que de lui est tot autressi
Chevalerie anluminee,
Con li solauz la matinee
Oevre ses rais et clarté rant
Par toz les leus, ou il s'espant.

²⁷ Lines already cited above (B, *Lancelot*, 2).

²⁸ See above, section E.

²⁹ Numbers I, 3, 4, 6.

Tristia II, 323 Denique cum meritis impleveris omnia, Caesar,
Pars mihi de multis una caenda fuit,
Utque trahunt oculos radiantia lumina solis,
Traxissent animum sic tua facta meum.

G

SIMILARITIES OF A MISCELLANEOUS NATURE

In *Cligès*, at the end of the long description of the arrow (778 ff.) which is in reality Soredamors, an ingenious trick adds the least touch of raciness by suggesting the beauty of those parts of the body that were covered by the clothing. This procedure may have been suggested by Ovid's use of the same device. In the description of Daphne whom Apollo is pursuing Ovid tells us of the beauty of her eyes, lips, and arms, all of which the pursuer can see, and then adds:

Met. I, 502 Si qua latent melior putat.

Crestien has used more words and his treatment is less graceful.

Cligès, 848 Mout volantiers, se je seüsse,
Deïsse, ques an est la fleche:
Ne la vi pas, n'an moi ne peche,

Car la fleche iere el coivre mise:
C'est li bliauz et la chemise,
Don la pucele estoit vestue.

Fenice, in her long monologue, while trying to persuade herself that *Cligès* loves her, has a momentary hesitation that reminds one of a similar hesitation of Medea in her thoughts of Jason. They wonder whether the men they love would deceive them; and both decide that the appearance and manner of the heroes warrant perfect confidence in their honor. This situation and the language used by Crestien recall also to the reader of Ovid that passage in the *Ars amatoria* wherein the Roman poet warns his fair pupils against deceitful men.

Cligès, 4435 Car tes i a, qui par losange
 Dient nes a la jant estrange:
 "Je sui toz vostre et quanque j'ai,"
 Si sont plus jeingleor que jai.
 Donc ne me sai a quoi tenir;
 Car ce porroit tost avenir,
 Qu'il le dist por moi losangier.

But his appearance proves that

4447 N'i ot barat ne tricherie.
 4566 Mes Cligès est tes chevaliers,
 Si biaux, si frans et si leaus,

that Fenice cannot fail to follow the dictates of her heart.

Met. VII, 39 Atque ope nescio quis servabitur advena nostra,
 Ut per me sospes sine me det lintea ventis,
 Virque sit alterius, poenae Medea relinquer?
 Si facere hoc, aliamve potest praeponere nobis,
 Occidat ingratus, sed non is vultus in illo,
 Non ea nobilitas animo est, ea gratia formae,
 Ut timeam fraudem meritique obliviam nostri
 Et dabit ante fidem.

Ars III, 433 Sed vitate viros cultum formamque professos,
 Quique suas ponunt in statione comas!
 Quae vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis:
 Errat et in nulla sede moratur Amor.

441 Sunt, qui mendaci specie grassentur amoris
 Perque aditus talis lucra pudenda petant.

Lines 435-6 of the latter citation are a possible source of 4433-4 of *Cligès*:

Que c'est une parole usee,
 Si repuis tost estre amusee;

There is certainly a reminiscence of Ovid in the statement that Fenice's door was not closed against Cligès:

5160

Et bien sachiez, ne li fu mie
Li huis a l'ancontre fermez.

In Ovid the lady's door is often closed against her lover. Ovid even recommends this procedure to ladies.³⁰

In *Lancelot* Crestien has used a device, similar to the one noted in *Cliges*, to heighten the interest of his narrative by suggesting something unconventional that is left untold. This method of introducing a racy touch was probably suggested to Crestien by his reading in Ovid.

Lancelot, 4695

Une joie et une mervoille
Tel qu'onques ancor sa paroille
Ne fu oïe ne seüe;
Mes toz jorz iert par moi teüe,
Qu'an conte ne doit estre dite.
Des joies fu la plus eslite
Et la plus delitable cele
Que li contes nos test et cele.

In describing a similar circumstance Ovid said in the *Ars amatoria*:

II, 703

Conscius, ecce, duos accepit lectus amantes:
Ad thalami clausas, Musa, resiste fores!³¹

At the end of a similar description in an elegy to the beauties of Corinna we read:

Amores I, 5, 25

Cetera quis nescit? lassi requievimus ambo.
Proveniant medii sic mihi saepe dies!

And in the *Epistles* between Hero and Leander:

XVII, 105

Cetera nox et nos et turris conscia novit
Quodque mihi lumen per vada monstrat iter:

³⁰ Cf. *Ars* III, 70, 580 ff.; *Amores* I, 6, I, 9, 8; III, 8, 6, etc.

³¹ There follows a description of a portion of the joy of the lovers, nevertheless; and though the description is quite different from that in Crestien's *Lancelot* (4669 ff.), or from that in *Erec* (2071 ff.), there is a possibility that the idea of treating such a situation, or the justification for so doing, may have been suggested by this passage in the *Ars amatoria* or by others or Ovid (cf. *Amores* I, 5; III, 7).

XVIII, 62

Pectora nunc nostro iuncta fovere sinu
 Multaque praeterea linguae reticenda modestae,
 Quae fecisse iuvat, facta referre pudet.

Meleaganz accuses Guenievre of unfaithfulness in terms that recall a bit of Ovid's feminine psychology:

4776

Bien est voirs que mout se foloie
 Qui de fame garder se painne:
 Son travail i pert et sa painne;
 Que ainz la pert cil qui la garde
 Que cil qui ne s'an done garde.

This should be compared with *Amores* III, 4, 1 ff.:

Dure vir, inposito tenerae custode puellae
 Nil agis: ingenios quaeque tuenda suo.
 Cui peccare licet, peccat minus: ipsa potestas
 Semina nequitiae languidiora facit.
 Desine, crede mihi, vitia inritare vetando:

Yvain

There is, in this romance, a slight reflection of Ovid's theory that women desire the love that they refuse:

Yvain, 1638

La dame set mout bien et panse
 Que cele la consoille an foi;
 Mes une folor a an soi,
 Que les autres fames i ont,
 Et a bien pres totes le font,
 Que de lor folie s'ancusent
 Et ce qu'eles vuelent refusent.

Ars I, 664

Illa licet non det, non data sume tamen!
 Pugnabit primo fortassis et "inprobe" dicet:
 Pugnando vinci se tamen illa volet;

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

FOSTER E. GUYER

(To be continued)

SOBRE LA LEYENDA DE LOS INFANTES DE LARA

A CABO de regresar de España donde anduve por seis meses recogiendo cuentos y romances populares bajo los auspicios de la American Folklore Society. Desde hace ya muchos años se pensaba en una expedición folklórica a España. Gracias al interés del professor Franz Boas de la Columbia University, indefatigable investigador del folklore americano, y a la generosa ayuda de la señora Elsie Clues Parsons, distinguida folklorista americana, la expedición se ha llevado a cabo y el éxito ha sido admirable. He regresado de España con unas trescientas versiones de unos doscientos cincuenta cuentos populares, que esperamos publicar con notas comparativas dentro de unos dos años.

Nuestras investigaciones se dirigen, como es natural, al estudio del cuento tradicional europeo, venido de India, de África, de Alemania, etc., pero al recoger todos los materiales que salen nuestra atención se detiene forzosamente ante las tradiciones nacionales de España que salen a cada paso y que en algunas localidades se encuentran en pleno vigor y que al recogerlas nos ocasionan momentos de verdadera emoción. ¿Quién no se emociona, por ejemplo, si al hacer un viajecito de Burgos a Salas de los Infantes encuentra allí y por los pueblos vecinos vestigios vivos de la trágica y encantadora leyenda de los siete Infantes de Lara?

Los dos cuentos burgaleses que siguen son una humilde contribución a la ya bien estudiada leyenda de los Infantes de Lara.¹ Los dos conservan con notable fidelidad algunos rasgos bien conocidos de la leyenda y el segundo tiene la novedad de conservar además versos de un romance antiguo. Son los primeros versos que se han encontrado en la tradición oral de España sobre un romance de los Infantes de Lara y pueden servir para animar al buscador de romances. Es evidente que no está olvidado por completo el romance histórico en España y viajando mucho por las regiones apartadas del comercio seguramente saldrán versiones fragmen-

¹ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896, obra de exquisita erudición, definitiva y fundamental.

tarias de algunos.² Primero damos los textos de los dos romances burgaleses tal como se me contaron, y después hacemos algunas observaciones de carácter bibliográfico y comparativo.

LOS SIETE INFANTES DE LARA A

Una probe fué a pedir limosna al palacio de Salas de los Infantes. Y salió doña Sancha a darle la limosna y le dijo a la probe: —¿Cuántos hijos tiene usted?—Señora, tengo cinco,—la respondió la probe limosnera. Y doña Sancha la dijo:—Por eso piden ustedes limosna. No tienen más que hacer que hacer hijos en los pajares. Y la probe entonces la echó la maldición:—¡Permita Dios que tenga usted siete de un parto!

Y se concedió lo que dijo la probe y más tarde doña Sancha tuvo siete hijos de un parto. Y después que se libró los cogió y metió a seis de ellos en unos cántaros y se los dió a la criada y le mandó que los echara al río. Y uno dejó doña Sancha pa criar. Y cuando iba la criada pal río salían unos señores de la iglesia. Y ai entre ellos estaba el padre de los infantes, y uno de los señores le dijo:—Mire usted ande va su criada. Parece que lleva gatos en esos cántaros. Y ella dijo que sí, que eran unos gatos que llevaba pa echarlos en el río. Y los señores dijeron que si eran buenos gatos que los querían pa ellos pa cría. Y el padre entonces llamó a la criada y ella no quería arrimarse porque la corría de vergüenza. Y a tanto, tanto porfiar ya vino. Y cuando ya vieron que eran criaturas le dijo la criada todo lo que había pasao. Y el padre les dió a criar sin que lo supiera doña Sancha.

Y luego a los cinco años la dijo un día el padre a doña Sancha: —Pon bastantes comidas que tengo envitao pa la comida. Y les mandó venir a los seis infantes con sus amas al palacio a comer. Y cuando ya llegaron el padre les mandó poner a todos ropas

² Los dos versos que conservan una versión del denuesto dirigido por doña Lambra a doña Sancha, la madre de los infantes, son un hallazgo de capital importancia. Rarísimos son en España los romances históricos que se conservan en la tradición oral. Según nos dice Menéndez Pidal, *Catálogo del Romancero Judío-Español, Cultura Española*, 1906, pág. 1048, sólo cuatro se habían encontrado hasta entonces en la península. No sé si después habrán salido otros. Entre los judíos de Oriente y de África, al contrario, se conocían entonces dieciséis, y entre éstos, uno precisamente, que conserva una versión fragmentaria de un romance de los infantes de Lara, once versos, versión del que sólo se conocía antiguamente por las versiones que se hallan en las comedias de Lope de Vega (*El Basterdo Mudarra*, 1612) y de Hurtado Velarde (*La Gran Tragedia de los Siete Infantes de Lara*, entre 1612 y 1615), y en el *Romancero General* de 1600. Véase *Catálogo del Romancero Judío-Español*, págs. 1058-1059, y *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, págs. 98-101.

iguales que al que estaba en la casa y les hizo entrar a la sala con sus amas. Y cuando entró la madre con el otro dijo:—¡Oy, Dios mío, cuántas amas y cuántos niños! ¿Qué es esto? Y se pusieron a comer todos en compañía. Y ya cuando concluyeron de comer el padre los puso a todos en fila pa ver si doña Sancha conocía al que crió ella. Y la dijo:—¿Cuál es tu hijo que has criado? Y tanto y tanto mirar pero no le pudo sacar porque no le conoció. Cuando ya la dijo él:—Mira, todos son tus hijos, los siete que tuvistes en un solo parto. Y tú mandastes a la criada a echarles al río y cuando salíamos de misa vimos venir a la criada y la llamé porque unos señores creían que eran gatos y querían comprarlos. Y cuando les ví la criada me dijo la verdá y yo les mandé criar con sus amas. Y son todos los siete hijos que tú tuvistes en un parto. Y ella lo quiso negar, y dijo:—¡Permita Dios que salga una laguna negra y me trague! Y se abrió una laguna y se la tragó, y así murió doña Sancha. Y en Quintanar de la Sierra está la laguna y se llama la Laguna Negra.

Y luego los siete infantes se criaron juntos y el menor de todos se llamaba Marciano. Y una vez fueron invitados los siete infantes con su padre pa las bodas de doña Lambra, su tía. Y cuando las bodas jugaron a las barras todos los caballeros y ganó Marciano, el menor de los infantes. Y doña Lambra les tenía envidia a los siete infantes porque había ganao Marciano. Y luego se marcharon los siete infantes con su padre pa su palacio. Y doña Lambra les levantó falso testimonio. Y le llevaron al padre preso pa Toledo ande el rey moro. Y ya después doña Lambra fué y les dijo a sus sobrinos que marcharan a la guerra. Y salieron y les cogieron los moros y les cortaron las cabezas a todos. Y los moros se las presentaron a su padre a ver si conocía aquellas cabezas. Y el padre al viéndolas que eran sus hijos se cayó desmayao.

Y estando preso tuvo que ver con una hija del rey moro y tuvo un hijo. Y como a aquél le llamaban todos en la escuela "hijo e puta" fué él y se lo dijo a su madre, y la dijo que si no le decía quien era su padre la mataba. Y ella le dijo:—Mira, hijo, sí que tienes padre. Mira el anillo que me regaló. Ora le escribo que vas a verle y que llevas el anillo pa que to conozca. Y escribió el padre que a la mitá del camino saldría a encontrarle. Y se vieron en el camino y el hijo le enseñó el anillo y su padre le abrazó y le contó lo que les había pasao a sus hermanos. Y el muchacho creció y dijo que iba a vengar a sus hermanos. Y se marchó a la guerra y peleó con sus contrarios. Y cuando llegó a Barbadillo del Mercado ande vivía doña Lambra, la mató porque les había levantao el falso testimonio al padre y a los hermanos. Y ella era la hermana de doña Sancha. Y así murió.

Y a los de Barbadillo del Mercado por eso les dicen los alambraos. Y después el hijo siguió peleando y vino a morir en el convento de Arlanza.

Domingo Villalaín, 74 años.
Salas de los Infantes, Burgos.

LOS SIETE INFANTES DE LARA B

Doña Urraca era la madre de los siete infantes de Lara, que los tuvo los siete en un solo parto. Y pa que no lo supiera el marido se quedó solamente con uno de ellos y los demás les mandó meter en unos cántaros pa que les llevaran a hogarles en el río. Pero cuando la criada les llevaba al río pa echarles el padre lo descubrió y se los llevó pa criarles en otra casa. Y cuando ya estaban mocitos les vistió el padre a todos iguales al que estaba en el palacio y les llevó delante la reina y ella no le pudo conocer al que se había quedao con ella. Y entonces el marido la dijo que esos seis eran los que ella había mandao echar al río pa hogarles. Y ella se avergonzó mucho. Y ai se quedaron todos en el palacio.

Y después una vez estaban jugando a los bolos o no sé qué, y ganó el menor de los infantes. Y de ai que les tuvo envidia doña Lambra porque había ganao el menor a los bolos. Y ai en el juego ese es onde le echó el insulto doña Lambra a doña Urraca, cuando le dijo delante e toda la gente:

—Doña Urraca, doña Urraca, bien te puedes alabar,
que has parido siete infantes como puerca en muladar.

Y entonces, después doña Lambra los entregó a los infantes a los moros pa que les mataran y les cortaran las cabezas. Y después la reina mora tuvo un hijo que era hijo del padre de los infantes. Y todos se reían dél y se burlaban dél porque decían que no se sabía quien era su padre. Y por eso le decían:

—Vaya una alabanza que naide puede tener,
que naide sabe de quién es hijo.

Y entonces su madre le dijo:—Mira, hijo, tú tienes padre, y yo te diré quien es. Y entonces ella le dijo quien era su padre y todo. Y este hijo es el que después vengó a sus hermanos y mató a doña Lambra.

Juana Martín, 68 años.
Contreras, Burgos.

OBSERVACIONES Y NOTAS

En la obra ya citada de Menéndez Pidal, *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, Capítulo VI, Los lugares y sus tradiciones, págs. 175-204, el autor nos da un breve resumen de las tradiciones y cuentos hallados en el lugar mismo donde se desarrollan los acontecimientos que dieron origen a nuestra leyenda. A este capítulo de la obra de Menéndez Pidal nos referimos en las observaciones y notas que siguen, estudiando brevemente nuestros dos cuentos, Versión A y Versión B.

Versión A

En págs. 182-183 tenemos una forma abreviada de la versión que según Menéndez Pidal corre en toda la sierra de Burgos acerca del parto prodigioso de los siete infantes y de la Laguna Negra, donde muere desesperada la madre que no puede sufrir la vergüenza después de que el marido descubre todo y la hace reconocer a sus hijos. Pero nuestra versión A, aunque igual en general representa notable diferencia en el principio, acercándose más a la tradición que desarrolla Lope de Vega en *Los Porceles de Murcia* de que habla Menéndez Pidal en pág. 187. En la versión de págs. 182-183 falta por completo el elemento de la limosnera de versión A y de la tradición que inspiró a Lope de Vega, de manera que sólo en su aspecto general podemos decir que es la tradición que corre en toda la sierra de Burgos. Mucho más completa parece versión A. En la versión de págs. 182-183 Doña Alambra, sosañaba a una vecina, llamándola puerca, porque había librado dos criaturas en un solo parto, y por eso Dios la castigó haciéndola preñada de siete. En versión A llega una pobre a pedir limosna al palacio de Salas y doña Sancha la pregunta cuántos hijos tiene. Responde la pobre que cinco y entonces doña Sancha la insulta vilmente. De allí la maldición de la pordiosera que pide a Dios que tenga doña Sancha siete hijos de un parto. En el cuento de Arabiana que nos da Menéndez Pidal, págs. 202-203, falta no sólo todo el relato de la pobre pordiosera sino que también toda referencia al castigo. La madre libra a los siete hijos de un parto sin achacarlo a castigo de Dios o a la maldición de la pobre. Resulta, por consiguiente, que en cuanto al prodigioso parto se refiere nuestra versión A es un

relato mucho más completo y tal vez más fiel a la leyenda primitiva que las dos versiones que nos suministra Menéndez Pidal, y va directamente relacionada con la tradición más antigua tratada por Lope de Vega.

El prodigioso parto con los detalles que encontramos en versión A y que constituye el núcleo del cuento es tema bien conocido en la tradición de Europa, y en España tiene un variado y extraordinario desarrollo. La tradición de versión A es la que desarrolla Lope de Vega en su famosa comedia *Los Porceles de Murcia*. Una limosnera, doña Ángela, con dos niños en sus brazos, se acerca a la casa de don Lope Fajardo y su mujer Lucrecia para pedir limosna y la mujer la despide diciéndole mil soberbias, llegando hasta burlarse de su honradez. La pordiosera pide venganza al cielo para que sufra aquella la vergüenza de un parto monstruoso y a los nueve meses da a luz siete hijos.³ Es clara la relación entre nuestra versión A y el cuento de Lope. Puede ser anterior o posterior a Lope pero es a toda evidencia la misma tradición.

Pero si en los detalles de la maldición de la pobre pordiosera y el prodigioso parto hallamos idéntico procedimiento en nuestra versión A y la tradición desarrollada por Lope de Vega y diferencia notable entre las dos y el cuento que según Menéndez Pidal corre por la sierra de Burgos, en otro punto capital versión A y el relato de la guardiana del monasterio de Arlanza concuerdan en absoluto, a saber, en el relato del suicidio, que en la leyenda da origen a la Laguna Negra. En ambos relatos la madre de los infantes después de que sabe que el marido ha descubierto el secreto de su vergon-

³ *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, págs. 184-185, y 187. Véase también Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, edición de la Real Academia Española, Tomo XI, CLI-CLXII, y el texto de la comedia misma, págs. 543-584. En el acto II, págs. 564-565, Lucrecia cuenta a su criada Beatriz lo ocurrido dando un buen relato de la tradición, y en la última escena del acto III, pág. 583, don Lope repite el mismo relato, acabando con dar a sus siete hijos el nombre de Porceles (<puerco):

Y pues Lucrecia parió,
Como el animal que ceba
Su cuerpo del sucio lodo,
Quiero que mis hijos tengan
Desde hoy nombre de Porceles,
Para que el suceso sea
Inmortal mientras que el sol
Alumbre el cielo y la tierra.

zoso parto muere desesperada; en versión A profiere una maldición y la tierra se abre, aparece la Laguna Negra y se la traga, mientras que en el cuento de Arlanza la avergonzada mujer se escapa en su caballo desesperada y va a arrojarse a la Laguna Negra.⁴ Como el elemento del suicidio falta por completo en la obra de Lope de Vega me inclino a creer que no pertenece a la tradición antigua y primitiva de la leyenda del prodigioso parto. Como todos los detalles de la leyenda de los infantes de Lara se encuentran confundidos en la tradición popular y como se trata de varias y diferentes maldiciones e injurias hay razón para creer que el suicidio es un elemento introducido en la leyenda del parto prodigioso debido a una confusión con los varios relatos sobre la muerte de doña Lambra. Una de estas tradiciones que menciona Menéndez Pidal en pág. 194 de su obra y que yo también oí contar en Salas de los Infantes, cuenta precisamente como doña Lambra, que aquí no es la madre sino la verdadera enemiga de los infantes, huyendo de los infantes en su caballo herrado al revés para dejar rastro engañoso se ve acosada de cerca y profiriendo una maldición el caballo da un bote y va a hundirse con ella en la Laguna Negra. Allí en Salas en dirección de Quintanar de la Sierra me enseñaron a mí no una sino varias herraduras estampadas, que la tradición popular no quiere que se borren. Es evidente que este relato es una tradición independiente que nace de la imaginación del pueblo, basada sobre una mucho más antigua,⁵ para relatar uno de los castigos que el cielo envió a doña Lambra, a quien todos odiaban.⁶ Creo, en fin, que la leyenda del suicidio y de la Laguna Negra es una leyenda independiente y ligada al relato del parto prodigioso posteriormente. Lo de convertir a doña Lambra en la madre desnaturalizada de los

⁴ *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, pág. 183. En la nota que está al pie de esta misma página menciona el autor otra versión, de Covarrubias, en que el detalle de la maldición de la madre y de la laguna que se abre y se la traga parece ser muy semejante al de nuestra versión A.

⁵ *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, pág. 190.

⁶ Hay que tener en cuenta que según las crónicas y la primitiva leyenda épica doña Lambra fué universalmente odiada, tradición que persiste en los cuentos y tradiciones, en las comedias de Lope de Vega, etc. Hasta el conde Garcí-Fernández se rehusa a protegerla y la despide diciéndole improperios cuando ella va a buscar su protección después de que Mudarra había dado muerte vergonzosa a su marido. Véase *Crónica General de 1344*, capítulo XII, en *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, pág. 313.

siete infantes no creo se deba al deseo de castigarla por el denuesto que recuerdan los romances y que más adelante discutimos. A mi parecer se trata solamente de confusión de nombres. Que yo sepa no figura doña Lambra como madre de los infantes donde se cuenta lo del denuesto. La doña Lambra castigada por ese denuesto no figura en ninguna tradición y en los mismos romances y en versión B de Contreras el denuesto es uno de los detalles de la trágica leyenda, pero no tiene importancia alguna como fuente de tradición.

Los otros detalles de versión A relativos al parto prodigioso, la madre que quiere cubrir su vergüenza y envía a seis de los infantes para ahogarlos en el río, el encuentro de la criada con el padre, el reconocimiento por la madre, etc., son esencialmente los mismos en las tres versiones.

La última parte de versión A, que refiere detalles bien conocidos de la antigua leyenda, la boda de doña Lambra, la contienda, la traición de doña Lambra y la muerte de los infantes, junto con la historia de Mudarra es un relato que la tradición popular conserva con bastante fidelidad y que proviene seguramente de fuentes no muy antiguas, tal vez de las mismas fuentes que menciona Menéndez Pidal en págs. 175-176, y que yo no tengo a la mano. No creo que proceda de los romances, aunque en versión B sí podemos pensar en ello. En versión A el relato de la boda de doña Lambra, el juego de las barras, la envidia de la tía y la traición con la muerte de los infantes descabezados, el nacimiento de Mudarra y la amenaza que hace a su madre para sacarle el secreto, que tiene su origen en las crónicas, la venganza de Mudarra, la muerte de doña Lambra y la muerte de Mudarra en el monasterio de Arlanza, todos esos hechos están contados con una fidelidad que desmiente desde luego un origen verdaderamente antiguo y popular.

Versión B

En la primera parte de este cuento se relata otra vez el prodigioso parto, pero sin achacarlo al castigo de Dios. Es una versión algo semejante al cuento de Arabiana que nos suministra Menéndez Pidal en págs. 202-203. Falta también el suicidio como en éste. En el relato de Arabiana "quedó la madre desmayada" y en el cuento de Juana Martín de Contreras "se avergonzó mucho." Hay

en los dos elementos que encontramos en las otras tradiciones, como en versión A y las tradiciones semejantes de Arlanza, la comedia de Lope de Vega, etc. Pero en el cuento de Arabiana y en versión B hay notables elementos de la antigua tradición épica. En los dos hay elementos de romances. En el cuento de Arabiana hay un elemento importante que falta en versión B, lo del criado degollado en los brazos de su señora, que recuerda desde luego el criado de doña Lambra que a ruegos de ella va a lanzarle el cogombro lleno de sangre a Gonzalvico, el menor de los infantes, y a quien los hermanos dan muerte aunque protegido bajo el manto de doña Lambra. Pero en nuestra versión B, al contrario, hay mucho más. Después de contar brevemente el reconocimiento de los hijos por la madre pasa por alto toda mención de la boda para contar que "una vez estaban jugando a los bolos o no sé qué y ganó el menor de los infantes. Y de ahí que les tuvo envidia doña Lambra. . . ." Viene después lo del famoso denuesto de que hablamos más adelante. Los detalles que siguen, la traición de doña Lambra, la muerte de los infantes, el nacimiento de Mudarra y la venganza son el relato bien conocido, si bien está todo contado con mucha brevedad.

Pero la importancia capital de versión B estriba en los versos del denuesto que profirió doña Lambra a doña Sancha en las bodas y que provienen según creo de un romance antiguo. No cabe duda que son versos de romance y que son de un romance que contaba la leyenda de los infantes. La narradora del cuento recordaba que el cuento que ella me contaba lo había oído todo en versos y que sólo se acordaba de esos dos,⁷ y además, que en Contreras había quien

⁷ No se daba cuenta la recitadora de que las palabras de los que a Mudarra sosañaban, "Vaya una alabanza," etc., pueden ser también versos de romance antiguo. No he podido dar con ellos, pero no creo que vengan de versos modernos. Estas frases injuriosas dirigidas a Mudarra (Véase también versión A) ya se hallan en las crónicas. El rey de Segura lo injuria diciéndole: "Vete, hijo de ninguno." Véase *Crónica General de 1344* en *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, pág. 291. Y el eco de esta tradición hallamos en *La Gran Comedia de los famosos hechos de Mudarra de 1585* (*La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, pág. 356) donde este mismo rey, Aliatar, le dice a Mudarra:

—Di, lengua desenfrenada,
bárbaro, baxo, sin ley,
quiéreste poner con rey,
hijo de ninguno, o nada!

En el romance artístico *Sentados a un ajedrez* (publicado por Depping, Samm-

sabía el romance completo. Aunque sólo permanecí tres horas en Contreras nadie me pudo dar una versión más preciosa de un cuento de los infantes que el que me contó doña Juana. Interesante es notar que doña Juana no ha salido, según ella misma me contó, en toda su vida del pueblo de Contreras. Pero a pesar de no haber hallado más huellas del romance en Contreras tengo la completa seguridad de que allí vivió el romance de donde han sido sacados estos dos versos. Es muy natural que el denuesto perdure cuando ya el romance haya sido olvidado. Estos dos versos no vienen de un cuento o tradición moderna. Vienen de un romance antiguo y están tal vez perfectamente conservados. Hay tres romances viejos de los infantes de Lara que nos relatan ese denuesto y el de nuestra versión B nos da una lección adicional, la cuarta conocida. Veamos ahora las lecciones antiguas de esos versos como las hallamos en los romances recogidos en el siglo dieciséis.

1. *Cancionero de Romances* del año 1550. *Primavera*⁸ 19.

—Mas calláis vos, doña Sancha, que no debéis ser escuchada, que siete hijos paristes como puerca encenagada.

2. *Silva* de 1550. *Primavera* 20.

—Callases tú, doña Sancha, que tienes por qué callar, que pariste siete hijos, como puerca en muladar.

3. Pliego suelto del siglo XVI. *Primavera* 25.

—Callad vos, que a vos os cumple, que tenéis por qué callar, que paristes siete hijos como puerca en cenegal.

La lección de nuestro cuento, versión B, que es ahora la cuarta lección conocida es, como ya hemos visto:

—Doña Urraca, doña Urraca, bien te puedes alabar, que has parido siete infantes como puerca en muladar.

La segunda lección, los versos de la *Silva* de 1550, *Primavera* 20, es la versión antigua del denuesto que más se aproxima a la de *lung der besten alt-Spanischen Romanzen*, 1817, y por Durán, *Romancero General*, 1849-51) el mismo Almanzor es el que se burla de Mudarra: "Llámale de bajo espurio, hijo de ninguno y nada."

⁸ *Primavera* y *Flor de Romances* por don Fernando José Wolf y don Conrado Hofmann, dos tomos, Berlín, 1856, y publicada en segunda edición corregida y adicionada por Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo en los tomos VIII y IX de su *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, Madrid, 1899.

nuestro cuento. El último hemistiquio es absolutamente igual, como *puerca en muladar*. Es notable que todas las versiones de los romances antiguos llevan la lección *siete hijos* mientras que la de nuestro cuento lleva la lección *siete infantes*. El sentido entero del denuesto es idéntico en todas las versiones, y las palabras casi las mismas. En nuestro cuento de Contreras en vez doña Sancha hallamos el nombre doña Urraca, nombre bien conocido en la antigua tradición de Castilla y que seguramente corre en las modernas versiones de las tradiciones nacionales.⁹

Como hemos dicho al principio estos dos versos de nuestro cuento son los primeros que de un romance de los Infantes de Lara se han encontrado en España y ellos solos valen la pena de hacer un viaje no ya de Burgos sino de Madrid a Contreras.

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

⁹ En Covarrubias, pueblo vecino a Contreras y a Salas de los Infantes vivió por muchos años doña Urraca, hija del conde Fernán González y esposa que fué del rey Ordoño III de León, encarcelada en una torre que aún existe y muy bien conservada y que se llama la Torre de doña Urraca. La tradición cuenta que el conde castellano la encarceló en la torre cuando fué repudiada por el rey su marido. Véase Modesto Lafuente, *Historia General de España*, Tomo II (Madrid, 1869), pág. 285.

A NOTE ON THE BOY BISHOP IN SPAIN

AN oft-quoted law of *Las Siete Partidas*, which gives us our first definite information concerning religious plays in Spain, also furnishes interesting facts concerning secular spectacles in the middle of the thirteenth century:

"Los clerigos . . . no deben ser facedores de juegos de escarnios porque los vengan a ver gentes, como se facen. E si otros homes los ficieren, non deben los clerigos hi venir, porque facen hi muchas villanias e desaposturas. Ni deben otrosi estas cosas facer en las eglesias: antes decimos que los deben echar de ellas deshonradamente a los que lo ficieren: ca la eglesia de Dios es fecha para orar, e non para facer escarnios en ella. . . ."¹

Another law of *Las Siete Partidas* seems to deal with the same subject:

"Vestir non debe ninguno habitos de religion, sino aquellos que los tomaron para servir a Dios; ca algunos hay que los traen a mala entencion, para remedar los religiosos, e para fazer otros escarnios e juegos con ellos, e es cosa muy desaguisada que lo que fue fallado para servicio de Dios sea tomado en desprecio de Santa Eglesia, e en abiltamiento de la religion; onde cualquier que vestiese habitos de monjes e de monjas o de religioso, debe ser echado de aquella villa o de aquel logar donde lo fiziere a azotes. E si por aventura clerigo fiziere tal cosa, porque le estaria peor que a otro ome, devele poner su prelado gran pena, segun toviere por razon: ca estas cosas tambien los prelados como los judgadores seglares de cada un logar las deben mucho escarmentar que no se fagan."²

These documents prove that, in Spain in the middle of the thirteenth century: (1) there were certain secular spectacles; (2) both clerics and laymen took part in them; (3) they were public spectacles; (4) they took place in churches; (5) the participants wore clerical garb; (6) mimicry of the clerics was a prominent feature; (7) they were attended by so many abuses that both ecclesiastical officers and the judiciary were instructed to suppress them.

¹ Part. I, tit. vi, ley 34.

² Part. I, tit. vi, ley 36.

The existence of other later Spanish documents which are more specific lead us to believe that the spectacles above mentioned were related to the New Year revels held by the sub-deacons in the medieval cathedrals and collegiate churches under the name of Feast of Fools, and to the celebrations on the days of St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist and the Holy Innocents by the deacons, priests and choir-boys.³

In 1319 the Chapter of Vique prohibited the use of a versified paraphrase in the vernacular of the *Epistola* which was chanted in the "missa popolare" on St. Stephen's day.⁴ The Council of Aranda (1473) prohibited certain "ludi theatrales, larvæ, monstra, spectacula, . . . turpia carmina et derisorii sermones" which had been introduced during Divine service in the celebration of Christmas and on the days of St. Stephen, St. John and the Innocents, and fines were provided for clerics who participated in or sanctioned such abuses.⁵ At Gerona in the fifteenth century, one of the choir-boys was elected as *obispillo* on the day of St. Nicholas and assumed his office at the Vespers of St. John the Evangelist. Another boy was elected Abbot of St. Felix, which gave rise to various disturbances. In 1475 a proposal was made to the Chapter to suppress these abuses, but without success.⁶ The same custom also prevailed at Lérida in the fifteenth century where a "mitra pro pueris" and "annulus puerorum" were preserved in the sacristy.⁷

At Seville in 1512 the Boy Bishop assumed his office at the second Vespers of St. John the Evangelist when the verse "Deposuit potentes de sede" of the Magnificat was sung, and we have a fairly complete account of the ceremony that followed.⁸ This was accompanied by so many objectionable features at Gerona that in 1541 an edict was issued prohibiting clerics to take persons to

³ For the general subject of the Feast of Fools and Boy Bishop, see E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, vol. i, chaps. xiii-xv.

⁴ P. Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. vi, Valencia, 1821, p. 95.

⁵ Schack, *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*, Madrid, 1885, vol. i, pp. 247-248.

⁶ *España Sagrada*, vol. xlv, Madrid, 1832, p. 18.

⁷ Milá Fontanals, *Orígenes del teatro catalán*, *Obras completas*, Barcelona, 1895, vol. vi, pp. 213-214.

⁸ José Sánchez Arjona, *El teatro en Sevilla en los siglos xvi y xvii*, Madrid, 1887, pp. 16-21.

the Boy Bishop for Confirmation and forbidding other unseemly conduct.⁹ At Seville the Chapter decreed in 1545 that these revels should not again be permitted because of the scandal they provoked, but this order aroused such opposition that it was revoked the same year.¹⁰ In 1562, the Boy Bishop ceremony was transferred to St. Nicholas' Day, and the following year it was celebrated for the last time in the cathedral. The Council of Toledo (1565-1566) prohibited "ludi theatrales" in the churches on the day of Holy Innocents and forbade anyone having received holy orders to wear masks or disguises at any time or place.¹¹

Limiting ourselves for the present to only one feature of these revels, we know that at Paris toward the end of the twelfth century, the Epistle at Mass for first Vespers on the eve of the Circumcision was farced in connection with the ceremony of the Feast of Fools, that is, certain metrical additions were introduced in Latin, and at a somewhat later date, in the vernacular. This combination was called *farsia*, *farsura*, *epistola farcita* or *farsa* (from Lat. *far-cire*, to stuff), and has been defined as a "Tropus interpolated into the text of certain portions of the office or mass, especially the *Kyrie*, the *Lectiones* and the *Epistola*."¹² Among the extant French *épîtres farcies* which were employed on the festivals of St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, the Innocents and Epiphany, the earliest dates from the twelfth century and deals with the martyrdom of St. Stephen.¹³ From Spain, we have a farced text of Vique from the thirteenth century, of the Epistle read on St. Stephen's Day.¹⁴

From a later period we have a number of farced Spanish texts which represent a survival of this practice. We find in the *Cancionero musical*, no. 282, a farced version of the hymn 'O sancta clemens et pia'; and one of 'Ave Virgo, gratia plena,' no. 296, and in the *Cancionero general* of Hernando del Castillo, the Ave Maria, Pater Noster and Salve Regina farced or *trobado* by Hernán Pérez de Guzmán. Such texts are also occasionally found in certain early Spanish plays, for example, part of the *Te Deum* and parts of

⁹ *España Sagrada*, *ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰ Sánchez Arjona, *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹¹ Schack, *ibid.*, vol. i, 380-382.

¹² Chambers, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 277.

¹³ *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II. Band, I. Abt., p. 478.

¹⁴ Villanueva, *ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 258.

Psalm 121, Psalm 84, the canticle 'Benedicite omnia opera Domini' and Psalm 51 in Gil Vicente's *Auto de los quatro tiempos*; a part of the Song of Songs and of Psalm 148 in the same poet's *Auto de Mofina Mendes*, and a farced version of the Pater Noster in Vicente's *El viejo de la huerta*.

The Spanish documents already cited and the evidence furnished by documents from England and France prove that the Christmas and post-Christmas festivals, which included the farcing of liturgical texts, were occasions of merrymaking. The comedy element developed under these conditions acquired such importance that any comic scene received in time the name of farce. Documents are lacking to prove when this transfer of meaning took place in Spain, but the fifteenth century French miracle play *Vie s. Fiacre*, contains a comic scene unrelated to the rest of the play, which is called *farsse*.¹⁵ We find the term *farsa* first applied to Spanish plays in the titles of four compositions of Lucas Fernández.

We know so little of the comic elements which constituted the chief feature of the revels on the festivals of St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist and the Innocents, that it is difficult to determine with any accuracy the relations that existed between these and the comic scenes in the early Spanish plays. One is tempted to find their influence in the comic scenes which enlivened the early Christmas plays, especially in the ingenuous irreverence with respect to sacred things, but it is by no means certain that such scenes could not have developed independently. I have noted, however, a few passages which seem to me to reproduce at least the spirit of these popular ceremonies.

In a number of the plays, the *bobo* shows a familiarity with the ritual such as might have been possessed by a choir-boy, and speaks of it in burlesque fashion. In the *Egloga o farsa del nacimiento de Nuestro Redemptor* of Lucas Fernández, Macario quotes the verse, 'Et homo factus est,' and asks Bonifacio if he understands him. Bonifacio replies:¹⁶

Si, que a la igreja he andado,
Y zagal soy bien sabido,

¹⁵ *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, *ibid.*, p. 1241.

¹⁶ *Farsas y églogas al modo y estilo pastoril y castellano fechas por Lucas Fernández*, Madrid, 1867, pp. 164-165.

Y hasta la *g* he aprendido,
Sino que se me ha olvidado.

Gil, another shepherd, adds:

Tambien yo en nuestro lugar
Hue monacillo,
Y porque me quijo azotar
El sacristan tras l'altar,
Di al Diabro el caramillo.

In the prologue of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Serafina*, the *bobo*, after mentioning a number of his accomplishments, continues:¹⁷

Y an si d'igreja querran,
Tambien se, como d'aprisco,
Hin al Dominos obisco
D'avangelo de San Juan.
Que, aunque parezo gañan
Un poquillo maxmordon,
Ya se de la confesion
Mas que un gordo sacristan.
Se sacodir ell altar
Y engarroter el crucero,
Revolver el pistolero
Y el libro del batizar.
Se groñir y solfeair,
Y se, con otros saberes,
Dar la paz a las mujeres
De todo nuestro lugar.

Part of the prologue of the *Comedia Trofea* of Torres Naharro, recited by a *bobo*, shows a similar range of experience:¹⁸

Ya yo sabia cantar
Bien aina
Toda la *salvarregina*
Por el son de mi villorio,
Hin al *Dios menajotorio*¹⁹
D'aljobando *mafestina*.²⁰
Ya se tambien que decrina
Lugo arreo

¹⁷ *La Propaladia*, Madrid, 1880, vol. i, pp. 136-137.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 224.

¹⁹ Referring to the verse, *Deus, in adjutorium meum intende*. Psalm 69, 1.

²⁰ Referring to the response, *Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina*. Psalm 69, 1.

Dominos dominos meo
 Con la media alimacriste,
 Y el cara m'arrebolliste²¹
 De la jodicame Deo.²²
 Y an confesar cuido y creo
 Que sabria;
 Son que lugo asolveria
 Las mozas en mi concencia.

At the opening of the second act of the same play, the *bobos* Caxcolucio and Juan Tomillo are sweeping the hall in preparation for the fiesta, and Caxcolucio seats himself in the throne-chair:²³

Juan. Hora, pues, se tu 'll abade,
 Yo sere tu monacillo.
 Caxco. ¿Quieres que cante un poquillo
 Como el crego?
 Juan. A la fe que te lo ruego.
 Mas di la *crialaison*.
 Caxco. No, ñoro pizca del son.
 Juan. Di, pues, algo palaciego.
 Caxco. ¿Quies que diga, jur'al ciego,
 La compreta?
 Juan. Mas di la tu chanzoneta
 Por mifasoles y cantos.
 Caxco. Mas quiero echar mas disantos
 Que llevara una carreta.
 Señores, no hayais enojo
 Mientra tomardes pracer,
 Qu'el lunes, si Dios quiger,
 Sera Sant pont'est'all ojo.
 Y en el viejo meart'he 'll ojo
 De Llorente,
 Dice qu'el martes siguiente
 Sera San *seculus meo*,
 Y el miercoles lugo arreo
 Sera pestojo nocente,
 Y el jueves, encontinente. . . .
 ¡Ho mal grado!
 Qu'el disanto mas honrado
 Éra aquel de mi terruño,
 Qu'es mas gordo qu'este puño,
 Sono que se me ha olvidado.
 ¡Dom'a Dios, que s 'm 'acordado!

²¹ For *Quare me repulisti?*, Psalm 42, 2.

²² *Judicame, Deus.* Psalm 42, 1.

²³ *La Propaladia*, *ibid.*, pp. 245-246.

;Dolo a huego!
 Sant Anton de Trasterriego.
 Y este dice Pero Mingo
 Que como al Santo Domingo
 Lo manda guardar el crego.
 Juan. A la fe que te la niego,
 Compañero.
 No te ahucio por entero
 La cuenta del calendario
 Ni me paresce vicario,
 Sino abad y ballestero.

These two merry companions then begin to hurl *pullas*.²⁴ It will be noted that the setting is somewhat similar to that of the Boy Bishop ceremony, and that Caxcolucio's discourse seems to be a fragment of a *sermon joyeux*, which constituted a prominent feature of the popular post-Christmas festivities.

The scene between two bobos, Garrapata and Herrando, at the close of Torres Naharro's *Diálogo del Nacimiento*, probably gives some idea of the abuses introduced into the New Year revels.²⁵

Ga. Tomaremos gasajado
 Ques noche de Navidade;
 Llevemos daca pensado
 Que diremos all abade.
 He. Yo os lo aprisco,
 Que se pullas abarrisco
 Mas de mil en una riza,
 Para el dominos bovisco²⁶
 Y para el ju benediza.²⁷

Garrapata then asks him what he will say at various points of the service:

Hi del mozo;
 Y al *peroña secoloro*,²⁸
 ¿Que diras si lo diran?
 Y al vicario,

²⁴ For these contests in abuse, see J. P. W. Crawford, *Echarse Pullas, A Popular Form of Tenzon*, Romanic Review, vol. vi, 1915, pp. 150-164.

²⁵ *La Propaladía*, vol. ii, 1900, pp. 380-385.

²⁶ This stands for *Dominus vobiscum*.

²⁷ This stands for *Jube, Domine, benedicere*.

²⁸ This stands for *Per omnia secula seculorum*.

Porque cumpra el trentanario,
¿Que le diras cuando canta?

Di, cogote,
¿Que diras al sacerdote
Cuando dira el davengello?

Di, carillo,
¿Que diras al monacillo
Cuando va por el guisope?

¿Que has pensado
Decir al beneficiado
Para el dominos obispo?

Pues, veras:
Al capellan, ¿que diras
Para el juna benediza?

To each of these questions, Herrando has ready an abusive, and often indecent *pulla*.

The play ends with the following farced version of 'Ave Maria stella,' in which the two pilgrims, Patispano and Betiseo and the two *bobos*, Herrando and Garrapata, take part, and which reproduces at least the spirit of the burlesquing of parts of the service for comic effect which was present in the post-Christmas revels.

He. Ga.	Celorum via, Nobilis est Maria.
Pa.	Ave Maria, stella, Dei mater alma, Atque semper virgo Felix celi porta.
He. Ga.	Celorum via.
Be.	En fin, fin, Cante el padre por latin, Dejeme a mi por romance.
Ga.	Puto sea, hideruin, Quien no acertare ese lance.
Pa.	Celorum via, Nobilis est Maria.
He.	Zagales via, Quen Napoles es Maria.
Pa.	Sumens illud ave.
He.	Soncas como sabe.
Pa.	Gabrielis ore.

He.	La miel y el arrope.
Pa.	Fundanos impace.
He.	Damos buena parte.
Pa.	Mutans Eve nomen.
He.	Mil huevos por hombre.
	Celorum via.
Pa.	Monstra te esse matrem.
He.	Moscas que te maten.
Pa.	Sumat per te preces.
He.	Zumante los peces.
Pa.	Qui pro nobis natus.
He.	Que perros y gatos.
Pa.	Tullit esse tuus.
He.	Royan huesos tuyos,
	Celorum via.
Pa.	Virgo singularis.
He.	Vinos singulares.
Pa.	Inter omnes mitis.
He.	Entre hijos mios.
Pa.	Nos culpis solutos.
He.	Vayan para putos.
Pa.	Mites fac et castos.
He.	Esos abadazos.
	Celorum via.

Adapted to a refined aristocratic taste, a number of these farced texts appear with an intermingling of religious and erotic elements in certain *Cancioneros* of the fifteenth century. To this group belong, for example, *Los siete gozos de Amor* and *Los dies mandamientos de Amor* of Juan Rodríguez del Padrón; *Las Liciones de Job, apropiadas a sus passiones de Amor* of Garci Sánchez de Badajoz and the *Salmo de Profundis* by Mossen Gaçull, all contained in the *Cancionero general* of Hernando del Castillo. Encina's *Vigilia de la enamorada muerta*, a farced version of the *Officium Defunctorum*, contained in the *Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano*, and the farced version of the *Nunc Dimittis* by Fernán López de Yanguas, which appears at the end of the same play, represent the same practice.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE SIÈGE DE BARBASTRE

(Continued from Vol. XI, page 369)

THE siege of Barbastre is raised. The victorious French, preceded by Guillaume and Beuve, enter the city with rejoicing:

1187 Par les mains s'antreprenent et cosin et parent.

Beuve inquires for news of their parents and the others in France. They go up stairs in the palace to the "plus halt mendement," where Guillaume admires the beauty of Malatrie and learns who she is. Later Beuve and the others of the family descend from the tower and are conducted to the royal camp, between a "silve ramée" and the river Sore. There follows a good description of the banners and tents, with the usual mention of brilliant colors and movement. Beuve thanks the King for his aid, without which

Ja ne fusse en Espagne si parfонт securus.

It is announced to Aymeri that Beuve is at the King's tent, and he hastens thither in company with his sons, Bernart, Guibert, Hernalt. We witness the reunion of the valiant Narbonnais:

Qui donc veïst au tref lou parage asanler,
1190 Et lor cosins baisier, joïr et acoleir!
A tant es vos aus tref lou cortois Aÿmer. (fol. 145 r^oa)
Ou que il voit Bovon, sel corut acoler.
"Freire, dist Aÿmer, fait il bon converser
En la terre d'Espaigne qui tant fait a loer?"

1187 Our poet often dwells on joyous scenes. The hands play quite a part in these scenes. A few lines further on we see the knights walking hand in hand and talking. We find also in this passage "bras a bras."

1191 After this line, MS. Bib. Reg. 20. B. reads:
Mes ne pot .i. mot dire quant les vost saluer.
Eincois peust .i. prestres une messe chanter,
Que l'un peust a l'autre mot dire ne parler.

- Je cuit vos m'en volrois do tout deseriter!
 1195 Laissiés m'en .i. quartier—bien la saurai garder—
 Dont je puisse mes homes garnir et conraer!"

Aymer continues speaking somewhat boastingly of himself, and takes the opportunity to mention his most distinguishing trait, namely, that he never dwells in a tower or castle. Beuve replies that his brother is a great talker ("Aÿmer, ce dist Boves, soëf poés gaber"), but that if, like Beuve, he had been cast into an awful dungeon where there was a hideous serpent, called a "pal-agre," he would not care to joke. The scene is one of merriment:

Grant joie ot Loeÿs cant les ot ranponer
 Et tuit li chevalier grant joie a demoner.

The next morning, Louis orders Guillaume to send a messenger to the Amirant, bidding him become a Christian; if he does so, the King will recognize him as the lord of Spain owing allegiance to him and will do him no harm. If he refuses, Louis will lay waste his country, burn his cities and castles and slay his men. The messenger, Richart de Pavie, finds the Amirant and some of his nobles in his tent, which was so lofty that a man could ride into it while holding his lance upright in the air. Richart stops in front of this imperial tent, and, leaning on his lance, delivers his message from horseback. The Amirant is speechless at the insolent message, and hurls at the messenger a dart which he happened to have in his hand. Richart spurs his horse and tries to strike with his lance the Saracen chief, one of whose men interposes and is killed, as in the celebrated scene where Bernier defies Raoul de Cambrai. The Amirant cries out to stop the murderer, who escapes, riding hard past "tantes et pavillons et tres." The whole country is alive with Saracens. The French see the pursuit and run to arms. The divisions of the enemy advance:

Li poldriers des chevaux contremont espoissa.

But the French have made their preparations:

- 1200 Es vos l'orguel de France, qui l'estor desira.

The forces meet in a deadly mêlée, where banners flutter, horses fall, while horns and tabors sound the charge,

Et do bruit des chevaux qui vont la randonnee
Toute en tentist la terre et la contree.

It is needless to give the names of the leaders on the two sides, but mention should be made of Guibert, whose prowess fills many lines. He is the bearer of the "oriflanbe":

A tant es vos Guibert, l'oriflanbe levee,
Et lou bruit des danxiaus de France la loee.
1205 Adont est l'ost des Turs as gens Guibert melee.
Lors oïssiés tel noise, tel cri et tel huee,
Tes froisseïs de lances, tel fereïs d'espees,
Toute en bruioit la terre, li puis et la valee.

Guibert asks a count to hold his oriflamme, seizes a lance and rushes into the thick of the press, where he performs the usual feats. Later he takes back the oriflamme and leads his division in close formation where the Saracens are most numerous. They soon receive a sudden impact from a fresh division under Brehas (or Bria). Guibert rides swiftly to meet him, and strikes him with his lance, from the point of which floats the pennon of the oriflamme:

Dedens lou cors li mait l'ansaigne d'or fresee.
1210 Par tel vertut l'esloigne de la selle doree
Que ans qu'il vigne a terre s'an est li ame alee.

The men of Brehas are enraged. They surround Guibert and try to kill him. Aymeri, Guillaume, Beuve, Aymer, Guairin, Bernart and Louis come to the rescue. The following lines show the violence of Guillaume's attack:

Ansument con li fals chace tos elaiissiés
Ou plouvier ou malart antre les marechiés,
Se fiert li cuens Guillaume antre les renoiés.

Lines 1199-1208 are found on fol. 146 v° a.

1209 This passage is from fol. 147 r° a.

1212 This passage is found on fol. 147 r° b.

The struggle lasts a long time, but finally Guibert is saved and the enemy are driven back to the Sore, where some of them drown in trying to cross at the ford. Aymeri decides to cross the Sore that night or the next morning and try to destroy the rival army.¹ He and his troops succeed in crossing, and for a while are successful. Aymeri even kills King Rubiant in the presence of the Amirant:

1215 Qui dons oïst païen glatir en lor langage!

But an attack by Golias drives the French back to the river, and Aymeri is forced to summon aid from Louis, who is on the other bank. Louis and Aymer pass the river. Despite this new menace, the Amirant declares that Louis shall never possess his country. He sends for fresh armies, and is encouraged by the arrival of Fabur with ten thousand men.

After the manner of the chansons de geste of the decadence, the poet now injects into the action the picturesque and formerly popular element of femininity. Fabur is unfortunate enough to have brought along his daughter, Almarinde, and two other princesses, Aufanie and Blanchandine, all of whom are ripe for mischief. The usual description follows:

Ans .iii. plus belles femes n'isirent d'un rené.
Chascune iert sor .i. mul blanc comme flor d'esté.
Lors selles sont d'ivoire, li arçon sont doré,
Et lor renes de saie, li bouton noielé.

1220 Li chanfrain sont d'argent et d'or enluminé.
Lor ator valent bien mil mars d'argent pesé.

¹Gautier, a "cousin" of Aymeri's, is commissioned to discover a good ford. He succeeds

.Ii. bones vit fichies les l'aigue par angin,
L'une de mabre, l'autre d'ivoire fin.

These lines are cited to show even here the poet's love for beautiful materials, also because they are to be added to the passages where *bone* is a popular and natural corruption of *borne*. Cf. *Bornes Artu, Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot*, Paris, 1913, I, p. 209 ss.

1215 This line is from fol. 148 r^o b.

1216 This passage is from fol. 148 v^o b. The *s* of *lors* in l. 1218 is of course anticipated from the following word. Cf. *murs* in line 1349.

The Amirant hastens to meet Fabur and his reinforcements, and, in conversation with the princesses, relates the events of the war and names the French heroes. The ladies are given temporary quarters, and Almarinde, being fatigued, falls asleep and dreams a dream, of which we have read elsewhere a score of models. Her two companions interpret the vision to mean that the three are to divide up among them Guibert, Gui and Gerart. Almarinde has her tent set up at some distance beyond the Saracen camp, and sends a discreet messenger to invite Guibert to come with Gui and Gerart to talk with her two fair companions:

Chascons aura s'amie, dont il aura son bon.
Donés li cest anel el non d'acointisson.

The young messenger succeeds in gaining an audience with Guibert:

Li mes s'agenoilla por sa raisson conter.
1225 Coiement en l'oraille li prist a demander,
D'Aumarinde la belle li prist a anditer,
La fille au roi Fabur d'outre la Roge Mer.

Guibert explains the invitation to Gui and Gerart. The messenger convinces them that there is no treason afoot. At night-fall the three heroes arm themselves, mount their horses and ride down to the bank of the river. The fog is beginning to rise from the water,

Et toute la riviere commence a espoisier.

The messenger conducts the young men to the tent of the three charmers. The hours pass rapidly. Dawn appears. The night-guard is returning from its last round. They see the three horses in front of the tent, and send word to Fabur, some of whose men spring to arms. The three heroes hear the noise and start to take leave of their sweethearts, but Almarinde begs not to be left behind. Guibert swings her to the saddle in front

1222 This passage is from fol. 149 v° b, as is also the following passage.

1228 This line is found on fol. 150 r° a. MS. Bib. Reg. 20. B. has aonbrer.

of him, Gui and Gerart imitate him, and away for the ford! The Saracens are coming, Danebur in the lead. He rides a chestnut horse which

Plus menu vait les salz que mostre ne levrier.

None the less, Guibert unhorses him, gives his steed to Almarinde:

1230 "Belle, gardés cestui! De vos fais escuier!"

Almarinde lou prent par la rene doblrier.

"Sire, por Deu, dist elle, pansés de l'exploitier!"

Ce est Fabur, mon pere, qui la vient cel poudrier!"

Four pagans come riding rapidly ahead of the others. The three ladies are quickly deposited on the green meadow: "Toutes .iii. sont asisses enmi lou preit herbu," from which position they see the furious Fabur wound and knock from the saddle Guibert. The riderless horse crosses the ford, is captured by the French on the other bank and is recognized as the horse of Guibert. He is led to Aymeri, who sees the bloody saddle and concludes that his son has been killed. Lamentations of Aymeri. He and his men cross the ford. The three paladins are still defending themselves. Fabur has given orders to take them alive. They are captured before the arrival of Aymeri, but are freed after a prolonged battle in which many men on both sides perish—among the Saracens, Malprian and Mathebrun; among the French, Elinant, Acart the Norman and Antiame, a near relative of Aymeri. The French are slowly pushed back to the Sore. Night approaches, and fog commences to rise from the river. The French succeed in recrossing, but they have lost the three ladies.

Gui and his brother Gerart serve as senechals at dinner that evening. Aymeri taunts Guibert with having been deceived by Almarinde, with not having brought her back a prisoner. Gerart prevents Guibert from making a reply in kind, because

Bien seit que la parolle tornast ja a folie,

1235 Car autel li fist ja Bovon de Malatrie,

1229 This line is from fol. 150 v° a. MS. 20. B.: lievre ne l.

1230 This passage is from fol. 150 v° b.

1234 This passage is from fol. 152 r° a.

which is a reference to the quarrel between Beuve and Gerart (see lines 659-690 of the selections cited in this article).

Fabur is much more angry at Almarinde than Aymeri at Guibert. The mildest term which he applies to her is "garce mal-vaise." She is fully a match for her father, who ends by exclaiming:

- "Ostés la, dist Faburs, elle est toute desvee!"
 Tot droit a son tref l'ont Sarrasin amenee.
 Ci commence chançon de bien enluminee,
 Si con li oz d'Espaigne fut vencue et matee,
 1240 Et l'amirant chaciés en Perse l'asazee,
 Et si con Malatrie fut a Gerart donee,
 Si con li soldoier de France la loee
 Del tresor Justamont reurent lor soldees, (v° aQ)
 Et si Clarion out sa terre aquitee
 1245 Et l'anor de Babastre.

The Amirant holds a conference with the Amustant de Cordres, Bruiant de Rosie, Salot, Golias and others. Reinforcements are announced. It is determined to make sure that the enemy does not capture Cordres, with its "grant tor entie," for it would then be easier for them to take Sarragossa. The Amustant expresses his opinion:

- "Sire aufages, dist il, nel vos pansés vos ja
 Que François preignent Cordes ne Lerede de la!
 D'une part sont li mur, et cil qui les fonda
 .C. estages de halt amont sus les leva.
 1250 Molt fu sages li maistre qui les creniax tailla. (fol. 153 r° a)
 Ja jor cop de perriere .i. sol n'en estordra.
 D'autre part va la mers, qui bien la defendra.

However, to make sure, it is decided to send that night, under the leadership of Bruiant, a detachment of four thousand men, to strengthen the defences of Cordres. The expedition rides

- 1236 This passage is found on fol. 152 r° b and v° a. After line 1240 MS.
 20. B. intercalates: Et Laride destruite et Cordres craventee.
 1246 MS. 24369 has amustans.
 1253 These lines are found on fol. 153 r° a.

away as silently as possible, for fear the army of Louis will hear the tramp of so many unmounted men:

- Chascons por lou braidir tint molt cort lou gasscon.
 Lou chemin eschiverent vers Cordes lou roion,
 1255 Et sormonterent l'ost .ii. lues a bandon,
 Car molt criement et doutent Loÿs, lou fil Challon,
 Endroit la mienuit s'an passent a bandon.
 Cant orent l'ost passee .iiii. traiz d'un bouzon,
 Entr' aux s'an esbaldissent, ja n'aient il pardon,
 1260 Mais ans que il ajorne changeront lor raisson.
 Tel a enuit tiré lou frain do son gascon
 Qui laschera ancui a coite d'esperon.
 La nuit font l'acharguaite andui li fil Bovon,
 Et li cuens Guibelin, qui porte lou dragon.
 1265 Cil iert filz Aymeri, au nobile baron,
 Et furent bien ensamble plus de mil conpaignon,
 Qui tuit sont d'un lignage et d'une nation.
 Et Sarrasin chevalchent sans noise et sans tançon,
 Et proient Apolin, Tervagant et Mahon
 1270 C' a Cordes les conduie et garde de prison.
 Contre roi de la lune reluissent li blazon,
 Et li aume vergié et a or li panon,
 Et la terre bondist par desoz tant gascon.

The companions of Guibelin (Guibert) perceive them, descend from their horses, tighten the saddle girths, remount and suddenly ride to the attack. Many of the enemy are killed, the others flee. The victors return:

- Maint destrier en amoinent par la rene doree,
 1275 Dont lor seignor en geissent, sanglant, gole baee.

The victors are received in triumph. The King gathers the principal chiefs in his tent and invites Guibert to relate his adventure, which he does fairly well, in the Othello-Rodrigue manner. Later, Louis makes a speech, stating that they have thus far accomplisht little in Spain, because the enemy increases con-

1262 The scribe, writing phonetically, wrote Qui laschera, for Quil laschera.

1274 This passage is from fol. 154 r^a.

stantly by reinforcements. He is determined to fight a decisive battle, and gives the details of the commanders of division, who are to be Aymeri, Guillaume and Louis himself. The King has announced thru the army that every one is to be ready to march at the "ore de prime" the next morning. Preparations are made on all sides:

Ce jor i ont par l'ost tant hiamé enhiame,
Et tant haubert doblier et froié et rolé,
Tant escut enforcié, tant estrié ratorné,
Tant cengle remisse, tant poitral relacié,
1280 Et tant cheval de pris de novel referré.

The poet thus describes the dinner that night:

En la tante lo roi a on l'aigue corné.
.XI. damoiseil sont illeuc defublé
Por servir au mengier nostre roi coroné,
Et portent escuelles d'argent blanc esmeré
1285 Et copes de fin or et maint hanap doré.
Li un servent do vin, li autre do claré;
Li uns portent char d'ours et li autre lardé,
Li uns cines rosti et poon enpevré.
Guibert tint la nef d'or, Loeys l'a porté.
1290 Bueves de Conmarcis a les mes devissé, (b)
Dont il i ot foisson et a molt grant planté.

After dinner, the night-watch departs, and soon encounters a man who seems to be a pilgrim

A la loi de paumier molt bien atapiné.

He is brought before the King, and is so intimidated that he asks whether he will be protected if he tells the truth. Louis gives him this assurance. He then confesses that he is a spy, sent by the Amirant. He has obtained all the desired information, he says. "Sire, faites lou pandre!" they cry to the King, but he has given

1276 This passage is from fol. 154 v° a.

1281 This passage is from fol. 154 v° a and b.

1292 This line and the passage which follows are from fol. 154 v° b.

his word. He releases the spy, bidding him tell his master to prepare for a desperate battle on the morrow. The spy withdraws:

Dont s'antorne li glos, n'i a plus demoré.
 Plus tost qu'il puet a l'ost de France trespasé,
 1295 Mais ansois qu'il fust fors a de païor tranblé.
 A chascun pas s'i s'est aïeres regardé.
 Toutans cuide que Francs li soient au costé.

The spy makes his report. The Amirant and his chiefs arrange their plans for the battle. Preparations last all night. In the morning the Amirant goes to perform his devotions in the "mahomerie." He lays a present before the statue of Mahomet:

.C. mars de bon or par desore possa.
 Li estache en sopoise, et Mahomés crolla.
 1300 Dient païen entrax: "Mahon vos aidera!"

The men in the two armies mount their horses. Guibert carries the "olifant," and winds it until the two shores ring to its music. The French begin to cross the Sore, Aymeri among the first. His horse reaches the hostile bank, and our poet, who loves life-like descriptions, says:

Et li chevas prent terre, lou frain va demachant.
 Plus menu meut les piés c'oisiax ne vait volant.

The son of the Augalie advances, mounted on a superb Arabian charger. Aymeri sees him from a distance and rides to meet him. Both horses neigh, and their eyes flash. They meet breast to breast. The straps and trappings give way, and the Arabian steed stumbles. His master falls on his head and is killed. On all sides are heard battle cries. Malaquin and Renalt de Poitiers fight and both perish. Wrath of Aymeri. Arrival of Fabur, who fights with Guarin and is captured and spared because he is the father of the princess, Almarinde. He is sent a prisoner to Barbastre. There are many duels, many losses on both sides. Golias, who commands one of the Saracen divisions, kills San-
 1298 This passage is from fol. 155 r° b, as is also the passage which follows.

son. Guillaume has just arrived on the field. He singles out Golias and addresses him:

“ Je te conjur par les Dex dont tu vis,
Que tu torne vers moi delés ce plaiseïs!
1305 Une joste voil faire, vers toi m'en ahatis.
Molt portes bien tes armes desor cel arrabis.
.II. nevos m'as hui mort dont en grant deul m'as mis.”

The passage devoted to this duel is long. Guillaume ends by giving Golias a fatal wound:

Li rois chiet a la terre, brait et travaille et crie.

The enemy gives way in this quarter. Guillaume throws himself into the rout, crying “Orange, chevalier!”, while his father cries “Nerbonois, chevalier!”

There remain three of the Saracen divisions. They are opposed by the troops under Louis, Beuve, Gui and Gerart. The two latter hasten to strike the first blows “Por l'amor lor amies.” Many heroes perish, especially among the enemy:

Desques an Roncevas ou Rolant fut vaincu,
1310 Que li .xx. mil François dont il n'eschapa nul,
Que Guainelons vendit, li traîtres parjur,
Ne fut an toute Espagne si grant deul receüs.

King Salot is obliged to flee. He meets the Amirant, and announces the death of several chieftains. The Amirant advances with his troops, but has to retreat fighting, until at last they are near the tent where the princesses dwell. Salot flees toward the Amirant:

Hei, dex! con tost l'anporte li destriers sejoirés!

The two Saracens turn to fight with Gui (here called Guielin) and Gerart, who have tightened their scabbard belts, seized their shields and leapt on their horses. Duel within sight of the prin-

1303 These lines are found on fol. 156 r° a, as also the following line.

1309 These lines are from fol. 156 v° b.

cesses. At last, Gui and Gerart give the two Saracens some terrible blows:

- Les estriers lor font perdre, les frains des mains voler,
 1315 Les janbes toutes droites as nues regarder,
 Et lors hiaumes an terre et fichier et entrer.
 Ansin chiënt des selles con fussent dui piler.

Guibert rides up, strikes and beheads Salot, whose soul is carried away by devils:

En enfer lou puant la se va osteler.

Gui seizes the Amustant, who lies dazed, but spares him at the request of his brother, sends him to Barbastre, where he will see again his daughter, Malatrie. The battle continues:

- La poïssiés veoir .i. tel assanblement,
 1320 Desronpre maint haubert et maint hame luissant,
 Molt poig, maint pié copé sor l'erbe verdoiant,
 Et maint destrier foïr, sa rene trainant,
 Dont li seignor en gessent navré parmi lou champ. (v°a)

The Amirant fights with fury. He slays Wiidelon before the eyes of Louis:

- Cant lou vit l'anpereres, s'an out lou cuer dolant.
 1325 Desor lou duc s'arreste sel regraite forment:
 "Sire dus debonaires, mar vi vostre jovent!
 De bon consail doner ne vos vi honques lent.
 Bien sanbliez del tout Aymeri vos parent.
 Or ne sai ou prendrai jamais consaillement."

The Amirant nearly succeeds in wounding the King seriously, is at last wounded and unhorsed by him, but is saved by his men, who help him to remount. He now sees that the battle is lost, and turns in flight. His white horse swims a river with him.

1314 These lines are from fol. 157 r° b, as also the line which follows.

1319 This passage is from fol. 157 r° b and v° a.

(1) A few lines later, the name is spelled Huidelon. Cf. line 1100 of these selections, and the note.

Only a hundred of his followers escape with him. As he rides along,

1330 L'aigue des iolx li a sa pelice moillie.

He will not feel himself in security until he reaches Persia, or the country of his son, Libanor de Turnie, or Inde Major.

The French invaders have at last won the battle. Their dead are entered with respect, the wounded are sent to Barbastre, as are also the two princesses. The image of Mahon is broken into pieces, which are distributed among the knights. The surrounding country is soon subjugated:

En .xv. jors fut si li païs aquités,
Dec' au peron Saint Jaque essilliés et gastés.
Cil qui Deu ne volt croire fut errant demenbrés.
N'i remaint tor a fandre ne a anplir fossés,

1335 Fors solement Lérider et Cordres par delés.

Despite the defeat of the Amirant, the defender of Cordres refuses to surrender the city, which is nevertheless captured, as also Lérider.

For the remaining events of the *Siège de Barbastre*, the reader is referred to the *Appendice* of the *Prise de Cordres et de Seville*, edited by O. Densusianu for the Société des Anciens Textes. Mr. Densusianu there gives the close of the *Siège* in MS. 1448—that is, 793 lines, of which several have just been cited (lines 1331–1335 of this article).

RAYMOND WEEKS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

1330 This line is found on fol. 157 v° b.

1331 This passage is from fol. 158 r° a.

1332 Cf. line 452 of these selections.

✓
RAMÓN DE LA CRUZ, SOCIAL REFORMER

TOWARDS the close of Ramón de la Cruz's life, when his literary activity had almost ceased, he found time to put into execution his long-cherished project of getting out an edition of his plays.¹ He had planned in 1767 to publish all his plays written up to that date, but had not had time to do so. Cotarelo y Mori suggests that this later edition was intended by Cruz to contain a complete list of his plays,² but the very manner of composition of the edition renders such a theory unlikely. Had Cruz been so minded, it would have been natural for him to observe the chronological order. This he did not do at all, some of the plays included being written while the edition was in preparation. Consequently the more tenable theory seems to be that this edition represents the choice of his best work—the deliberate choice, for Cruz spent five years on the edition in question.

Cruz wrote voluminously. The latest edition of his works to appear—that of the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*—furnishes a complete list of his plays. According to this *Nueva Biblioteca* edition he wrote seventy tragedies, comedies, and *zarzuelas*, and four hundred and seventy-five *sainetes* and other short plays. Of this vast number there are only sixty-six to be found in his own edition, nineteen of the first class and forty-seven of the second.

It is too well recognized to need proof here that Cruz's fame rests on his *sainetes*, not on his longer plays. The important fact to be kept in mind, therefore, is that he included in this edition but forty-seven out of four hundred and seventy-five *sainetes*—approximately ten per cent. This makes it evident that each included play had a definite reason for being there: it was, in Cruz's opinion, a significant part of his literary activity. Now Cruz's real productivity dates from the beginning of 1760, and 1789 marks the end

¹ *Sainetes y demás obras dramáticas* de D. Ramón de la Cruz y Cauo. 10 vols. in -8°, Madrid, 1786-91.

² *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, v. 23. *Sainetes D.R. de la Cruz*, vol. 1, Introduction, p. xxxii.

of it, except for a few scattered plays. Consequently 1774-5 is the half-way point. Curiously, he seems to have written about the same number of plays in each half: 232 *sainetes* before 1775, 207 after the beginning of that year. In this edition of his he favors the first period, choosing twenty-six from the former as compared with nineteen from the later period. (Two *sainetes* are of unknown date.)

Two of the *sainetes* of this first period, and one of the two *sainetes* of unknown date (probably of the first period as well), differ in form and content from all the other *sainetes* included in this edition. In form, in that there is no action or dramatic value. In content, inasmuch as they do not depict a scene, an incident, or a situation of contemporary Madrid life. These three *sainetes* are:

Los Hombres con Juicio, 1768;

La Feria de la Fortuna, date unknown;

El Almacén de Novias, 1774.

The first two of these are strikingly alike in all respects, and are unique in Cruz's published work. The third, while clearly belonging to this group, bears a close resemblance to others of Cruz's plays and will here be considered at the same time as these other plays. The one common characteristic of all this group is that the central idea is a pure figment of the imagination.

In *Los Hombres con Juicio*, this figmentary element is that men have recovered their lost senses, and have accordingly decided to cease from their extravagance and their quest of the empty pleasures of life, and to address themselves for the nonce to serious pursuits. On this basic idea Cruz imposes the device of an interlocutor and a companion. Past these two personages defile all the other characters, stopping as they do so to chat either directly with the two, or among themselves within hearing distance of them. By these means Cruz can point out not only the evils of his time but the remedy for each evil, and also how each lesser evil contributes its share to the deplorable condition in which all classes of the population of Spain are languishing. All sorts and conditions of men and women pass in review: soldiers and *abbés*, who spend their time flirting and know nothing of their own proper calling; fops,

who waste their life, interested only in dress and in seducing other men's wives; cooks and dancing masters, who contribute nothing but an exhibition of the latest French fashions in eating and dancing; shop keepers with fashionable goods whose intrinsic worth is *nil*; women wasting their husbands' all on dress and pleasures—in fact, everyone who can contribute anything to the general riot of extravagance, and to the aping of foreign customs detrimental to the state and tending to the abandonment of the honest, upright ways which formerly had carried Spain to the place of mistress of the world.

Cruz keeps his typical play from being too wearisome by making the men flee from the women, whom the former charge with being the cause of all extravagance, while the latter pursue the men in order to induce them to return to their former state of submissiveness to the women's desires. But this device is only the sugar coating, and the coating becomes increasingly thin; the underlying plan is always apparent and becomes more so as the play proceeds. Cruz's characters are always types. The very nature of the *sainete*, short playlet as it is, precludes the possibility of anything else. But here the characters are not even types, they are only promulgators of Cruz's favorite notions. Peasant and noble, lady and cook talk in one uniform strain. Cruz's sole interest seems to be in having them say what he wants said, irrespective of the tone in which they say it, or whether they would be likely to say it at all.

These defects are much more apparent in *La Feria de la Fortuna* than in *Los Hombres con Juicio*. There is the same resort to an interlocutor and a companion who talk with the other characters, these latter being wayfarers bound for Fortune's fair, descanting, as they jog along, upon their qualifications for winning success at the fair, while the interlocutor comments to his companion on their chances. Six parties pass. Four he prophesies will fail, two because they are honest and hard-working—qualities that are old-fashioned and no longer well thought of; and two, a book dealer and a sword-vendor, with stocks of Spanish goods that are equally out of style. Those who will succeed are a clerk, clever and with no conscience to hinder his advancement, and a pair of dancing girls, whose stock in trade, new French dances, will win instant

favor from a society satiated with all but the latest pleasures of the moment.

There is no variety to the action. One group appears, talks, is passed upon, and gives way to another group. Individuality in the character is lacking to an even more marked degree than in *Los Hombres con Juicio*; for Cruz is concerned solely with the ideas his puppets are purveying. In *Los Hombres con Juicio* extravagance in its multifarious forms is the evil harped upon as the underlying cause of Spain's ruin; in *La Feria de la Fortuna* sham and dishonesty are shown up as causes contributing to the same deplorable state of affairs.

These are the only two plays that envisage the general question of what is wrong with the times, but there is a group of plays, among them *El Almacén de Novias*, which attack specific evils. In this group there are three other plays:

El Hospital de la Moda, 1762;

La Academia del Ocio, 1762;

El Hospital de Los Tontos, 1774.

The "imaginary" note is present in this group, but in a less pronounced form. The plays are improbable, not impossible as are the two in the first group. In each of these four plays a gentleman of wealth and of original ideas undertakes to cure society of some specific evil, and to this end sets up respectively a shop, an academy, or a hospital, in order to treat the given social malady. In each case the title of the play is self explanatory. In the first instance, an emporium is established for the display of brides, so that the man who wishes to marry may inspect the various offerings, talk openly with the candidates, and acquire an acquaintance with their real nature and character, before taking the decisive step. Cruz says distinctly that marriage as practiced in his time was one of the chief causes of much of the evil and unhappiness of the day. In the next play a "Hospital of Fashion" is founded in order to cure those suffering from the malady of wasting their lives and those of their neighbors in the vain endeavor to keep up with the ever shifting fashions. The hospital proves a failure because the patients will not make any effort to assist in bringing about their own cure; and

the building becomes subsequently the abode of *La Academia del Ocio*, where Cruz attacks the mania—so prevalent then in Spain—of the shoemaker refusing to stick to his last. Finally, the “Hospital for Idiots” represents an attempt to relieve society by shutting up fools, both men and women, whose dementia is not of a kind to render them liable to imprisonment in a madhouse, but who by their folly or their uselessness clog the workings of a sane social order.

In all these plays Cruz employs the same device as in the first group. There is an interlocutor with one or more companions. In the first part the other characters defile before the interlocutor and are judged in turn. In the latter part they reappear—a new feature—and are presented all together. In this second act, the interlocutor prescribes remedies for the various follies from which the patients in the hospital are suffering, and in all four plays the scheme ends in failure because, on the one hand, the patients turn against their would-be benefactor (as do the frequenters of the Academy), while in the case of the “Almacén de Novias,” the women do the choosing, and not the men as was the intention of the founder.

The *Almacén de Novias* is unquestionably the best of this group. In fact, the last of the four—*El Hospital de los Tontos*—bears written on the manuscript: “no lo dejaron acabar.”³ But all suffer from the same defects as are noted in the case of the first two plays discussed: the various devices resorted to by Cruz to cloak his attempts at preaching are all equally futile. The *Almacén de Novias* stands out above the others of its class and also the two of the first class by reason of its more amusing dialogue, not because there is any more dramatic interest nor because the play lives. The normal *sainete* charms—when it does charm—because there is life and actuality in the depicted scene. The actors are felt to be living people, there is an atmosphere of reality. Not always is there dramatic action, though it is often present. But always the reader realizes that could he step back into eighteenth century Spain, he would find just such people doing and saying just such things as Cruz has them do and say. When Cruz’s purposes changed, when

³ Cf. List of Sainetes, No. 184, note. *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 23, Introduction, p. liv.

he abandoned this singleness of aim, when he wished to show at the same time what ought to be and what was, at that instant his plays lost their lifelike quality.

A modern English play will illustrate admirably the device Cruz used and the poor success he had with it. *The Passing of the Third Floor Back* was brought to America by Forbes-Robertson. Not even his transcendent genius could make the series of scenes into a dramatic play. People flocked to it in great numbers, but it was to see Forbes-Robertson act, not to see a great drama. Cruz had no Forbes-Robertson, and the result was that, after failing miserably with *El Hospital de los Tontos*, he abandoned this kind of *sainete*. Over a period of thirteen years he had made six attempts at writing serious reform plays. His audience finally convinced him they would have none of them. Henceforward Cruz writes only the conventional *sainete*. But deep in his heart there lingered a liking for this youthful tilting at windmills. So, when his chance comes, when, his active literary career over, he turns from writing plays to arranging an edition of his plays, he sees to it that edition contains not only the two reform plays dealing with a general attack on social evils in Spain, but also the best of the four that attack specific evils.

At the same time that Cruz was writing these purely reform plays, he was producing other plays in which the reform element is especially marked, though keeping the conventional form of the *sainete*. The whole nature of the *sainete* lends itself to pointing a moral, so that care must be taken not to form exaggerated conclusions from a *sainete* just because a moral relative to the evils of the time is drawn in it. It is safe, however, to say that during the period when Cruz was writing purely reform plays a larger number than at any other period deal with the extravagances and follies of life at the Capital. These follies are attacked by Cruz from three sides:—the superiority of things Spanish over things foreign, the idleness and wickedness of men's lives, and the extravagances of women. The first of these is but a continuation of his attacks in the purely reform plays of a general nature. Two plays of this first period create a sharp contrast between the simple life of Spain

before the Frenchman came, with his national customs, and the prevailing Francophile mode.⁴ These plays are:

El Petimetre,⁵ 1764;

El Deseo de Seguidillas, 1769.

In *El Petimetre* a young Francophile congratulates Spain, and Madrid in particular, on its improvement as regards good taste. He says:

"Ya la amanece el buen gusto
en el mueblage; las casas
se adorman de cornucopias
en vez de petos y lanzas,
y ya ven los Españoles
que el papel y las indianas,
para vestir las paredes,
les hacen muchas ventajas
a los cuadros de Velázquez,
como cano, Ribera que llaman
'el Españolito,' y otros
pintorcillos de esta laya."

He further congratulates Spaniards, as a whole, on having abandoned their absurd ideas regarding honor. No longer are girls chaste, married women modest, widows inclined towards a religious life, old men venerable, mature men upright or honorable, nor youngsters innocent. Best of all, the antiquated idea that the passing of the lie or the dishonoring of woman was cause for a duel no longer is accepted—foreign ideas have made an end of "el punto de honor." His remarks are addressed to a numerous company of young men, only one of whom dares to raise his voice in protest against the ideas thus proclaimed, and against the dangerous idleness and unchastity of the Spain of that day.

El Deseo de Seguidillas approaches the same question from an entirely different angle. In a very simple little play, Cruz preaches how much nicer are the old ways of amusing oneself, of cooking,

⁴ It is significant that plays advocating things Spanish occur only in this first period, whereas Cruz continues, from time to time during the second period, to return to the attack on the idleness of men and the extravagance of women.

⁵ *El Petimetre* belongs in the second class as well, for it plays on the idleness of men of fashion, and their courting of other men's wives.

and of dancing. A certain Don Pedro conducts three *blasé* friends of his to a little wine shop. There they see Spanish dances danced by Spaniards, hear Spanish songs, sung as only Spaniards can sing them, and eat an old-fashioned Spanish dinner. They are charmed by the sharp contrast between the simplicity of it all and their usual round of daily pleasure—a walk in the park, a *matinée* performance of some French play, an elaborate dinner with French cooking, and the evening spent in dancing French dances. All four sigh for the good old days when all Spaniards were satisfied with old-time simple diversions.

The plays dealing with the idleness and wickedness of men of the upper classes are especially numerous. Cruz attacks in particular the *petimetre*⁶ and the *cortejo*⁷ as types of the two evils the man of fashion is especially subject to: the *petimetre* because he wastes too much of his time on dress and trifles unworthy of a grown man's attention; the *cortejo* because he devotes his whole life to the service of some married woman, thus depriving his country of his services and contributing nothing to the welfare of the social state, while, on the contrary, breaking up the home—the unity of the Spanish family. As is natural, Cruz devotes much more of his attention to the latter aspect than to the former. Only one play, *Las Superfluidades*, 1768, is given up exclusively to a consideration of the many superfluous occupations, all of them worthless in themselves, that serve to fill the lives of *petimetres*. On the other hand, the list of plays attacking the *cortejo* is long, and extends beyond the first period, though of much more frequent occurrence in this first period:

El Sarao, 1764;

Los Picos de Oro, 1765;

El Reverso del Sarao, 1766;

La Elección de Cortejo, 1767;

La Oposición a Cortejo, 1773;

El Cortejo Escarmantado, 1773;

Los Doe Vinditas, after 1775;

El Oficial de la Marcha, 1783;

La Discreta y la Boba, 1787.

⁶ *Petimetre* (French *petit maître*), man of extreme fashion.

⁷ *Cortejo*, here used in the sense of assiduous suitor to married women.

From these plays it appears that a *cortejo* was always at his lady's beck and call. He accompanied her everywhere, ran her errands for her, acted as master of ceremonies at her entertainments, and supplied her with money for all her pleasures, including fans, sashes, ornaments, jewels, theatre tickets, coach hire, dance favors, musicians, even the supper served. In return he received favors from the lady, who gave him precedence over her husband in all matters, besides often becoming his mistress. This last, however, it may be well to note, seems to have been by exception, the usual practice being to hold out this reward as the prize to be gained by unceasing devotion, but to withhold it, lest, once it were granted, devotion should cease. In *La Oposición a Cortejo*, Cruz sums up the ill effects of such a situation on the man:

"Yo por vos he tolerado / que me desuelle el barbero /
 todos los días: por vos / he desmentido mi sexo, /
 ya al tocador, porque fuera / mi peinado el mas perfecto; /
 Ya bordaño en cañamazo / a vuestro lado, o ya haciendo
 bufandas: por vos con todos / mis parientes, indespuesto /
 vivo; por vos reñuncié / los mas brillantes ascensos,
 que fuera de aquí me daba / la carrera que profeso,
 por vos jamás voy a misa, / sino el día de precepto:
 por vos soy un animal / pues ni me aplico ni leo,
 y solo sé hablar de modas, / o murmurar; que son cierto,
 en un hombre conocido / muy apreciables talentos!
 Por vos han estado ya / para quitarme el empleo:
 por vos estoy empeñado / hasta los ojos. . . ."

The other side, the disastrous effect on married life, is present also in *La Oposición a Cortejo*, in *El Sarao*, and in *El Reverso del Sarao*. In the last of the three it is particularly stressed, the husband sinking into a position of insignificance beside the *cortejo*, who has usurped all the former's powers and privileges.

The sainete *Los Picos de Oro* contains the most violent attack on *cortejos*. The speech just quoted from *La Oposición a Cortejo* shows a certain nobility of self-sacrifice. There is here no trace of this. The "Picos de Oro" care nothing for a woman's good fame, they retail one woman's secrets to other women and to their friends, they court a woman to decide a wager as to her honor, they turn a

young girl's head without scruple, in order merely to be seen with a pretty girl. They have no honor, and soil all women with whom they come into contact.

By way of contrast Cruz treats the question from its humorous side in *La Eleccion de Cortejo*, where a *cortejo* presents certificates from hair dressers, doctors and surgeons, and offers documents proving that he:

" . . . sabe / hacer nuditos y vuelos /
bolsillos de todas modas / y caídas a lo morrueco."

The three plays of the second period are solely concerned with satirizing the idleness incidental to the rapid life of a *cortejo*, and do not touch upon the breaking up of home life that often resulted. There is no violent invective; there is rather the cold consideration of an evil well recognized, but impossible to laugh, or preach, out of existence.

The extravagance of women must have been of greater concern to Cruz than the *cortejos* even. He wrote, it is true, less plays on the subject of extravagance, but one play dating from 1785—well on toward the close of his career—contains as virulent an attack on this vice as any written in his younger days. The subject is one he never treats humorously, a fact which might support the view that *La Señora Cruz* was addicted to extravagance in dress—the only form assailed by Cruz. The question was not a new one in Cruz's day, nor have women's ideas changed since then. The plays in which this problem is attacked are:

Las Senorías de Moda, 1767;

Las Escofieteras, 1773;

El Marido Sofocado, 1774;

El Espejo de la Moda, 1782;

El Sombrerito, 1785.

The only other windmill at which Cruz tilted was the *abbé*—type of a class that Cruz seems to have fairly abominated. Again and again he introduces them into his plays, only to show them up in the worst possible light. In:

El Petimetre, 1764;

La Presumida Burlada, 1768;
Los Hombres con Juicio, 1768;
La Visita de Duelo, 1768;
Las Tertulias de Madrid, 1770;
Las Escofieteras, 1773;
El Trunifo del Interés, 1777;
Los Dos Libritos, 1777;
El Oficial de la Marcha, 1783;
Las Fiestas Útiles, 1789,

the same scorn is manifest. *Abbés* were very useful. They courted ladies, cooked on occasion, taught music, French and Italian, and were authorities on complicated questions of social etiquette and fashions. In *Los Hombres con Juicio* Cruz explains his attacks thus:

"Si fuerais de aquellos sabios / útiles y bien nacidos /
 abates, que veneramos / por su aplicación y prendas; / . . .
 si en Madrid hay más abates / que galones de oro falso, /
 ya por parecer sujetos, / ya por no parecer vagos, /
 y ya porque les parece / el traje mas adecuado /
 para introducirse con / ambigüedad en los estrados,
 y hacer para sí, or para otros / comercio los agasajos. . . ."

That this critical attitude of Cruz's met with favor from the church authorities is proved by the fact that none of his attacks, however virulent, was censured by the Holy Office. This tacit approval cannot be considered the result of mere negligence on the part of the church. The Inquisition in eighteenth century Spain was a real force and exercised a careful vigilance on all matters affecting public morals, or attacks on the faith. This circumspection took the form of careful censorship of literature, including of course the drama. Plays in which the subject matter was offensive for either of the two reasons just mentioned, were not permitted to appear on the stage, and, if printed, were placed on the Index. Cotarelo y Mori⁸ gives an instance of this. A certain Trigueros translated Moliere's play, *Le Tartuffe*. The Holy Office refused to let it be performed and immediately put it on the Index. This occurred in

⁸ *Traductores Castellanos de Molière*. Estudios de Historia Literaria de España. T. I, p. 335.

1779, at a time when Cruz was launching some of his most bitter attacks against *abbés*. Other plays, in which the general treatment met with approval, had specific speeches altered to conform with the ideas of the Holy Office. Many instances of this are to be found in Cruz's plays.⁹

Fitzmaurice-Kelly sums up Cruz's work in these words:

"Il écrivit avec un humour insouciant et contagieux, avec un brio qui dévance celui de Labiche, et sans en avoir l'intention il a rédigé des documents historiques. . . Cruz est le Goya du théâtre sans doute, mais c'est un Goya qui sourit au lieu de ricaner." And again: "Cruz aurait pu être—ce qu'il avait été en commençant—un pompeux doctrinaire: il choisit la meilleure part en rendant ce qu'il voyait tous les jours, en amusant son public pendant trente ans. . ."

Apparently the inference to be drawn is that Fitzmaurice-Kelly credits Cruz with no serious views of life whatsoever. But a detailed study of the internal evidence permits a generalization which seems to be at variance with Fitzmaurice-Kelly's conclusions. Whereas the plays dealing with the lower classes bear out the distinguished critic's statements as to Cruz's painting what he saw and getting his humorous effects from the amusing things his characters do or say, it must be recognized, on the other hand, that all the plays dealing with either the middle or upper classes contain at least one character that is held up to earnest ridicule—ridicule which is aimed at one or more of the following evils: extravagance, idleness, affectation, or aping of French manners and customs.

If Cruz's audiences had been largely made up of people from the lower classes, such a difference in treatment would have been only natural. But this was not the case. Cruz, as Fitzmaurice-Kelly attests, was the most popular dramatist of his time, and Cotarelo y Mori vouches for the statement that all classes flocked to hear his plays. Now the Madrid of his day aspired to be a second Paris. French manners, novels, dances, clothes, cooking, hair-dressing—all things French—were the rage. The whole struc-

⁹ *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 23: *El Sordo y el Confiado*, pp. 190, 191, 192, 193, 194; *El Casado burlado*, pp. 206, 207, col. 1, 207, col. 2; *La Plaza Mayor*, pp. 234, col. 1, 234, col. 2, 237; *Los Ladrones Robados*, p. 380 (8 lines removed); *El Mal Casado*, pp. 384, 385, 386, 387, 380; *El Mercado del Lugar*, pp. 394, col. 1, 394, col. 2, 395, col. 1, col. 2.

ture of society was permeated with their influence. In literature French was as all-powerful as in other fields. French society of the second half of the 18th century was riding to a fall, and, as always in such a case, was notably frivolous and corrupt; consequently its influence on Spain was of the worst. This influence, of course, only affected the upper and middle classes. The most logical explanation for Cruz's varying treatment (according to the class he was portraying in any given play) is to credit him with a purpose to condemn the social evils of his time and to show his countrymen how disastrous were the consequences of aping foreign manners.

The injustice that has been done to Cruz by failing to recognize this seriousness of purpose is the greater because he was the only writer of his day who had the courage to raise his voice against the foreign influence. Not only was society Francophile, but Spain had a French Bourbon king, and political preferment could only be won by yielding to the prevailing current. Cruz's courage stands out still more markedly when two significant facts are taken into account, first that he was always a poor man, and second that he was a government employe.¹⁰ Though a hard and faithful worker, he never received the recognition to which his services entitled him. It is not too much to say that his outspoken hostility to things French undoubtedly was at the bottom of this lack of recognition. Cruz, in short, deserves better treatment than is accorded him by the literary historians of our day.

ARTHUR HAMILTON

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

¹⁰ *Don Ramón de la Cruz y sus obras*. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1890.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE SOURCES OF SEBASTIANO ERIZZO'S *DISCORSO DEI GOVERNI CIVILI*

THE *Discorso dei governi civili* of Sebastiano Erizzo was published for the first time in Venice, in 1555.¹ It is a short treatise on a subject pertaining to Political Science. The circumstances under which it was composed are unknown and probably will continue so until a biography of the Venetian scholar shall have been written. It is safe to say, however, that Erizzo had a predilection for problems of political science. As I have tried to show in a forthcoming article, a large number of the stories contained in the *Sei Giornate* treat political subjects, and discussions and discourses inserted in this collection of short stories were in part taken over literally from the political writings of Niccolò Machiavelli. It is, therefore, not surprising that Erizzo should also be the author of a work such as the *Discorso*.

The contents of the treatise may be analyzed as follows:

Erizzo starts out by enumerating and defining the three main forms of government: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, and the three other forms into which each of the former three may easily degenerate: tyranny, oligarchy, and ochlocracy. He then goes on to describe the famous circle of forms, following each other by successive revolutions and changes. He proceeds discussing the so-called "mixed" forms of government, which are preferable to the others because they contain elements of all three good forms: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, co-operating with each other and holding each other in check. They, therefore, are more durable and less subject to changes than the simple forms. He enters upon a discussion of the work of Lycurgus in Sparta, touches the constitution of Carthage and closes with the praise of the government of the Roman republic which he considers the best of all.

In his treatise, Erizzo quotes extensively from a Latin transla-

¹ For this study I use the following edition: *Discorso de i governi civili* di M. Sebastiano Erizzo gentiluomo Venetiano a M. Girolamo Veniero. In Venetia appresso Iacopo Sansovino il Giovane, MDLXXI.

tion of Aristotle's *Politics*. It is, however, not from the latter work that he drew his main information, as is clearly seen from the analysis of the *Discorso*. His chief source is the sixth book of Polybius' *History*, chapters 3-18. Erizzo took over a large part of the arguments and illustrations which he found in the Greek text, often translating entire passages literally into Italian.

The influence exercised by the historian of the Punic Wars upon the writers on political science in the epoch of the Italian Renaissance, above all on Machiavelli, is well known.² The latter author incorporated considerable parts of the sixth book of Polybius in the second chapter of his *Discorso I. sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*. It will be of interest to see whether Erizzo used Machiavelli's work or whether he had recourse to the Greek text. A comparison of Erizzo's *Discorso* with the identical passage in Machiavelli leaves no doubt that the Venetian was familiar with the treatise of the Florentine statesman and took over whole passages from it, inserting them in his *Discorso*. It is certain, however, that Erizzo also had recourse to the text of Polybius, even in portions where the latter is reproduced by Machiavelli; for such passages show the Venetian to have been a more literal translator than was the Florentine.

A few examples will illustrate the dependence of Erizzo on the works of Polybius and Machiavelli.

Erizzo, p. 4.

Dico adunque, che ritrovandosi per gli diluvi dell'acque, per pestilentia, per fame, ovvero per alcune altre calamità di questa sorte, consumata, e spenta grandissima moltitudine d'huomini, le quali influentie, ovvero calamità noi dobbiam credere, che sijno per lo adietro accadute, & per l'avenire ancora siano per accadere nel mondo, levate via

Polybius, VI, 5.

... ὅταν ἢ διὰ κατακλυσμοῖς ἢ διὰ λοιμικὰς περιστάσεις ἢ δι' ἀφορίας καρπῶν ἢ δι' ἄλλας τοιαύτας αἰτίας φθορὰ γένηται του τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, οἷας ἤδη γεγονέναι παρελήφαμεν καὶ πάλιν πολλάκις ἔσεσθ' ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ, τότε δὴ συμφθειρομένων πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων καὶ τεχνῶν, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν περιλειφθέντων ὁλον εἰ σπερμάτων αὐθις αὐξηθῇ σὺν χρόνῳ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, τότε δῖήπου, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων

² Cf. on this subject G. Ellinger *Die antiken Quellen der Staatslehre Machiavellis*, Zeitschr. f. d. gesammte Staatswissenschaft, XLIV, 1888, pp. 1 ff.

le arti, & perdute le lettere, essendosi poi di nuovo accresciuto, & moltiplicato il lignaggio degli huomini, per certo spacio di tempo da poi, dalle reliquie delle semenze della prima generatione, allora è da credere, che da capo si raunasse insieme una moltitudine d'huomini, per il natural desiderio che ha ciascuno delle compagnie, & delle raunanze del suo genere, si come ancora sogliono fare gli animali bruti; Onde per una certa legge di natura, & a caso, sia avvenuto poi, che dopo esser vivuti un tempo dispersi, a similitudine di bestie, ragunandosi insieme, colui il qual e si sia ritrovato più eccellente di vigor di corpo, più robusto, & di maggior forza d'animo, habbia il governo, e la maggioranza de gli altri, essendo stato eletto Rè, ovvero principe, per potersi meglio difendere, & da se scacciare coloro, che lor potessero far ingiurie.

Erizzo, p. 4.

Ora di queste sei ragioni di governi, scrissero alcuni, che tre ne erano pessimi, & tre altri per loro natura buoni, ma si facili a corrompersi per la conformità, che ancora essi vengono ad essere dannosi. Quelli che sono buoni, sono i tre soprascritti:

συναθροισμένων (ὅπερ εἰκός, καὶ τούτους εἰς τὸ ὁμόφυλον συναγελάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένειαν) ἀνάγκη τὸν τῇ σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ψυχικῇ τόλμῃ διαφέροντα, τοῦτον ἡγείσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν ἀδοξοποιήτων ζώων θεωρούμενον τοῦτο χρὴ φύσεως ἔργον ἀληθινώτατον νομίζειν, παρ' οἷς ὁμολογουμένως τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ὁρῶμεν ἡγουμένους λέγω δὲ ταύρους, κάπρους, ἀλεκτρυόνας, τὰ τοῦτοις παραπλήσια. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀρχὰς εἰκὸς τοιούτους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίους. ζῆρδὸν συναθροισμένων καὶ τοῖς ἀλκιμωτάτοις καὶ δυναμικωτάτοις ἐπομένων οἷς. ὕρος μὲν ἐστὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἰσχύς, ὄνομα δ' ἂν εἴποι τις μοναρχίαν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τοῖς συστήμασι διὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπογένηται συντροφία καὶ συνήθεια, τοῦτ' ἀρχὴ βασιλείας φέεται, καὶ τότε πρώτως ἔννοια γίνεται τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις.

Machiavelli, III, p. 235^a

Alcuni altri, e secondo l'opinione di molti più savi, hanno opinione che siano di sei ragioni governi, delle quali tre ne siano pessimi, tre altre siano buoni in loro medesimi, ma si facili a corrompersi, che vengono ancora essi ad essere per-

quelli che sono rei, sono tre altri i quali dalli suddetti dependono, & ciascuno di essi è così simile a quello che gli è prossimo, che agevolmente saltano dall'uno nell'altro; perciocchè il Principato facilmente diventa Tirannico. Gli ottimati presto diventano stato dei pochi. Il Popolare di leggieri, in licenzioso si converte.

niciosi. Quelli che sono buoni, sono i soprascritti tre; quelli che sono rei, sono tre altri, i quali da questi tre dipendono e ciascuno di essi è in modo simile a quello che gli è propinquo, che facilmente saltano dall'uno all'altro: perchè il Principato facilmente diventa tirannico; gli Ottimati con facilità diventano stato di pochi; il Popolare senza difficoltà in licenzioso si converte.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

* I quote from the *Opere di Niccolò Machiavelli*, Firenze, N. Conti, 1820.

COMPARISONS: DANTE, *INFERNO* 1.80; PETRARCH,
MONTAIGNE, ETC.

WITH the figure in these lines,

Or sei tu quel Virgilio, e quella fonte
Che spanda di parlar sì largo fiume,

might be compared Cicero, *Acad.* 2. 38. 114: "flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles" (cf. *Deor. Nat.* 2. 7. 20: "orationis flumine");

Tusc. 5. 12. 37: "Ex hoc igitur Platonis quasi quodam sancto augustoque fonte nostra omnis manabit oratio";

Pro Marcello 2. 4: "Nullius tantum flumen est ingenii, nullius dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia."

A noteworthy parallel is to be found in Manilius' reference to Homer (*Astronomicum* 2. 8-11):

Cuiusque ex ore profusus
Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit
Amnemque in tenuis ausa est diducere rivos
Unius fecunda bonis.¹

Petrarch does not seem to have been acquainted with Manilius (Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 2d ed., I. 209), but two of the extant manuscripts (at Brussels and Leipzig respectively) are of the 11th century, not to speak of the lost Venetian codex.

TENNYSON, *Ænone* 268

All earth and air seem only burning fire
suggests Dante, *Purg.* 29. 34-5:

Ci si fe' l'aer.

Tal quale un fuoco acceso

¹ Thus translated by Garrod in his edition (Oxford, 1911): "Yet from his lips has all after-time drawn for its song a stream of inspiration welling up abundantly; and, boldly parceling the parent stream into meagre rivulets, has grown fertile from the richness of a single soul."

PETRARCH, ERASMUS, AND MONTAIGNE ON THE APPROACH
OF DEATH

Petrarch, *Sen.* 16. 2: "Opto ut legentem, aut scribentem, vel, si Christo placuerit, orantem aut plorantem, mors inueniat." Cf. Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, 2d ed., p. 468.

Erasmus, Preface to his *Novum Instrumentum* (New Testament): "Felix ille quem in hisce litteris meditantem mors occupat."

Montaigne, *Essays* 1. 19: "Que la mort me trouve plantant mes choulx,² mais nonchalant d'elle, et encores plus de mon iardin imparfaict."

POPE, *Essay on Criticism* 708

As next in place to Mantua, next in fame.

Sadoletto (1477-1547) says of Sannazaro (cf. Sandys, *Hist. Class. Scholarship* 2. 115, 117):

Hic ille Maroni

Sincerus Musa proximus, ut tumulo.

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

YALE UNIVERSITY

² Cf. Erasmus to Wolsey (Froude, *Erasmus*, p. 218): "What a thing it is to cultivate literature! Better far grow cabbages in a garden."

PROPAROXITONISMO Y RIMA ENCADENADA

EN la nota titulada "Una estrofa de rima interior esdrújula en el *Pastor de Filida*" que publiqué en el No. I, January-March, del pasado año, en esta Revista (XI, págs. 61-64), dejé de citar inadvertidamente entre los casos de versos esdrújulos anteriores al siglo XVI (pág. 61, n. 3) uno ya señalado por Mr. R. Foulché-Delbosc en su "Étude sur le *Laberinto* de Juan de Mena", excelente trabajo que vió la luz en la *Revue Hispanique* (IX, pág. 102 n.) En el *Cancionero de Baena* hay versos de arte mayor terminados en esdrújulos en la "Pregunta muy sutil é oscura" de fray Pedro de Colunga a Villasandino y en la "Respuesta que le dió el dicho Alfonso Alvarez al dicho fray Pedro, en la qual le declaró muy sabiamente la su pregunta que le fizo de susso." (V. ed. Ochoa, Madrid, 1851, págs. 130-131; o, ed. Michel, Leipzig, 1860, I, págs. 127-128.)

Igualmente hay que añadir, entre los casos de *rimalmezzo* que apunto (pág. 64, n. 17) algún espécimen de Sâ de Miranda. El poeta portugués usa de tal artificio en dos composiciones: en la Égloga V: *Nemoroso* (págs. 358-360 y 362-365 de *Poesias de Francisco Sâ de Miranda*, ed. de Doña Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Halle, 1885), y en la Égloga VIII: *Encantamento* (págs. 486-87 de la citada edición). La primera está escrita en castellano, la segunda en su suave lengua nativa.

E. BUCETA

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

REVIEW.

Les origines de la poésie française de la Renaissance. Henry Chamard, Professeur en Sorbonne d'histoire littéraire de la Renaissance française. Paris. (Boccard.)

Professor Chamard's reputation as a distinguished scholar dates back to the publication in 1900 of his *Joachim Du Bellay*, an invaluable work, one of that fine array of monographs upon which a scholar's knowledge of the literary sixteenth century must so largely depend. This fruit of eight years' labor was followed, in 1909, by a critical edition of the *Défence et illustration de la langue françoise*—a model of such editions in painstaking establishment of text and full and illuminating notes. Its usefulness was, however, impaired by P. Villey's discovery of the Italian sources of DuBellay's treatise. On this subject, Professor Chamard has, in his present volume, a remark really knightly; "Mais telle est aujourd'hui la marche du travail, que cette édition, qui n'a pas dix ans, n'est déjà plus au point, surtout depuis qu'une jolie découverte de M. Pierre Villey nous a fait savoir que DuBellay a traduit mot à mot du *Dialogues des langues* de Sperone Speroni (1542) à peu près tous ses arguments pour la défense de son 'Vulgaire.'"

The object of the author, in searching out the sources of sixteenth century poetry, is to show its origins truly in the past, and to point out the links which united it to the preceding century, proving that the Renaissance, in bringing in a new spirit, made no abrupt break with the Middle Ages, that its changes were long prepared, that the venerable past, in fine, did not perish and still survives,—the national genius remaining constant throughout the necessary transformations which characterize French literature.

The author, all must admit, carries out his intention with great effect. After two fairly full chapters on the bibliography of his subject, he shows how the two marked and diverse strains of Mediaeval poetry, "*l'Esprit Gaulois*" and "*l'Esprit Courtois*," remained alive in the poetry of the Renaissance,—which, it may be said in passing, apparently dates, for M. Chamard, from 1550 and the *Pléiade*. On the *Esprit Gaulois* which, he is at pains to show, descended almost unchanged to the Renaissance poets, he has some pages of interesting analysis and definition, justified by the general vague use of the phrase. He points out its manifestations: joy in drink, in the pleasures of life, in life itself; jocular raillery of women, of monks; strains of sensuality, of obscenity even;—agreeing, however, with Sainte-Beuve that its characteristic is to remain strictly within permissible limits. Of the *Esprit Courtois* definition is hardly needed. Professor Chamard indicates its easy fusion with the Petrarchistic influences of the sixteenth century. It was, indeed, the source of these, the Renaissance poets deriving their ideal of exalted love not only in direct strain from fifteenth century poets like Alain Chartier, but also through the medium of Bembo and the Italian Petrarchists indirectly from French

thirteenth-century poets. This is a theme which the author might well have enlarged upon more than he has.

The *Roman de la Rose*, which retained its vogue until the very end of the sixteenth century, and which, "in a sense, may be said to usher in modern literature as it closes that of the Middle ages," is treated with a fulness of detail somewhat surprising. If it were carping to suggest that readers of such a work as we are discussing would hardly need so full a description of that poem, it is not so to make the remark with regard to the chapter on Villon, interesting as that is; for, according to our author, Villon, though read during the first half of the century, had no influence upon the writers of the latter half. He had his effect upon Rabelais and Marot, and there it stopped. Upon Villon the author has a singular judgment: "Villon n'est pas un artiste ou, du moins, s'il atteint à l'art, c'est sans effort, spontanément, son art est naturel." How do we know this? To the average reader, Villon has all the marks of a supreme artist, and that he was content to stick to traditional forms is no argument against this general judgment.

The *Rhetoriqueurs*—ancestors, as M. Chamard wittily points out, of the *Symbolistes*,—are, for the general reader, in spite of M. Guy's admirable work, quite otherwise in need of complete exposition than the *Roman de la Rose* and Villon; and M. Chamard provides it. They were authentic ancestors, he shows us, in some regards not only of Marot but of Ronsard also and the *Pléiade*:—for example in their commingling of erudition with poetry; in their practice of new and complicated metres designed to heighten the musical quality of the language; in the value they set upon technique; in their attempt to enrich the vernacular, and, above all, in their admiration and imitation of the Latin classics,—for, in comparison of *their* boldness in this respect, M. Chamard plainly shows, the innovations of the *Pléiade*, accused of having "parlé grec et latin" are merest timidity. To the best of the *Rhetoriqueurs*, Jean Lemaire des Belges, M. Chamard devotes a whole chapter.

The first half of the book, looking forward to the Renaissance, shows the growth of the ideas which that movement made its own; the last half looks back from the Renaissance itself upon these ideas. It treats of the spirit of the Renaissance, that phrase which "is this to me and that to thee" and which, for Professor Chamard, is summed up in zeal for art, passion for knowledge, desire for personal glory united to an intense love of life. Its passionate individualism, he thinks, accounts for the dominance of lyric forms in its poetry.

M. Chamard discusses in detail the Italian inspiration of the French Renaissance, the general diffusion of Italianism from the wars of Charles VIII on, and the increasing intercourse between the two countries. He treats at length of Humanism, the worship, so he defines it, of classic antiquity, whether taking the shape of judicious study or of imitation, fervent or even excessive, as when it degenerated into the servile Ciceronianism that Erasmus mocked at. French Humanism had for its distinguishing mark, at its inception at all events, an inclination towards Hellenism, a preference for Greek studies; and M. Chamard gives a good account of the gradual development of Greek instruction, learning and letters which may be regarded as really estab-

lished with the incumbency of the brilliant group of scholars that filled the Royal Lectureships to which the *Collège de France* owes its origin.

The book concludes with a chapter on the errors of Humanism, its danger in particular to the development of the vernacular literature, threatened not only by the exaggerated veneration paid to the classic tongues but by the spontaneous rise of a genuine school of Neo-Latin poetry. This is the best, or, if not that, the most original chapter in the book. In the rest of the volume the reader has perhaps some reason to regret a reliance upon authorities, almost too strict, a certain lack, in fact, of the fruits of original research; but, in dealing with the Neo-Latinists, the author has no or few authorities to rely upon. His account of the Italian and French Latin poets is both interesting and suggestive,—that of the French perhaps unduly slight, omitting such names as those of Ducher for example, or of Denys Faucher and his fellow monks. He points out the singular attitude towards contemporary Latin poets of those who wrote in French; placing them, as they did, on a par with the true Classic poets and translating and borrowing from them with the same freedom that they used with classic authors. He gives several examples of the debts of French poets to the Italian Latinists, Marullus and Navagerius, interesting although these examples are not of his own finding.

One singular idiosyncrasy of Professor Chamard's book invites comment. Reference has been made to the admirable chapters of bibliography which open the book. These give a view of the entire situation with regard to the attitude towards French literature of the Renaissance of the Universities and educational authorities, no less than of critics; an account of collections, of studies, of reprints; a survey of the extraordinary rise of interest in these writers from 1874 on. Whereas there were, between 1845 and 1870, not more than three Doctor's theses dealing with sixteenth century literature, the years between 1874 and 1891 offer a noble list, and after 1891, studies—University and other—in the subject become too numerous to enumerate. Nevertheless in the list of monographs,—of such immense importance where this particular literary period is concerned, there are some singular omissions. The author accounts for these thus "Je n'ai pas eu la prétension d'être complet. J'ai dû notamment laisser de côté les travaux faits à l'étranger, en Italie, en Allemagne, en Belgique, en Angleterre, en Amérique. Je n'ai voulu considérer que le labeur fourni chez nous." This limitation of vision on the part of a French scholar is regrettable and surprising; for the enlargement of interest across the borders of nationality is one of the boasts of scholarship as of science. Without attempting to fill the lacunae, we may be permitted to call to mind the work of A. Baur, a Swiss, on Maurice Scève, the first volume of Birsch-Hirschfeld's history of French literature, and the monographs on sixteenth century poets by American scholars: H. M. Baird, R. L. Hawkins, H. Harvitt, etc. Even during the war, a good study of Remy Belleau has been published (in French) at Budapest by A. Eckhardt, who, in his preface—it may be said in passing—acknowledges the debt of all students of the *Pléiade* to Professor Chamard.

By his present work, M. Chamard lays under a similar debt students of the French poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

C. RUUTZ-REES

NOTES AND NEWS

Fascicule II of *Palaeographia Iberica*, the masterly work of Dr. John M. Burnam, has appeared (Champion, Paris). Romance scholars will be interested to know that Dr. Burnam now holds the title of professor of Latin and Romance Palaeography in the Graduate School of the University of Cincinnati. The University offers Fellowships for well qualified students desiring to study with Dr. Burnam and to profit by his unequalled collection of facsimiles and palaeographical material.

The *Mélanges offerts à M. G. Lanson* will shortly appear (30 francs), and may be ordered of Dr. H. P. Thieme of the University of Michigan.

Dr. Richard Holbrook of the University of California has been made a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.

Dr. Aurelio M. Espinosa of Stanford University has been chosen a Corresponding Member of the Real Academia Española de la Lengua.

Dr. J. D. Fitz-Gerald of the University of Illinois has been elected a Corresponding Member of the Real Academia Hispano-Americana de Artes y Ciencias de Cadiz and Honorary Member of the Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras de Cuba. He recently received the degree of Litt.D. from Syracuse University.

Dr. Kenneth McKenzie of the University of Illinois has been made a Cavaliere dell' Ordine della Corona d'Italia, as have Professor A. Marinoni of the University of Arkansas and Dr. E. H. Wilkins of the University of Chicago. He is to pass next winter in Italy as a representative of his University and of the Institution of International Education.

Dr. H. C. Lancaster of Johns Hopkins University has published with Champion a volume of great interest: *Mémoire de Mahelot, Laurent et d'autres décorateurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne et de la Comédie Française au XVII^e siècle* (45 francs).

Professor Gustave Cohen of the University of Strasbourg, who served with distinction in the Great War and was severely wounded, has published two very valuable works: *Ecrivains Français en Hollande dans la première Moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Champion, 50 francs); and *Mystères et Moralités du MS. 617 de Chantilly* (Champion). The former is Vol. I of the new Bibliothèque de Littérature Comparée, and the latter is Vol. XXV of the Bibliothèque du XV^e Siècle.

Among more than a score of new reviews founded in France since the War, the following offer interest to our readers: *La Vie des Peuples*, 99, Rue de Richelieu, Paris (150 francs); *La Revue de France*, editors, Marcel Prévost, Joseph Bédier and Raymond Recouly, La Renaissance du Livre, 1, Avenue de

l'Observatoire, Paris (92 francs); *La Revue de Littérature Comparée*, edited by F. Baldensperger and Paul Hazard (Champion, 40 francs).

La Vie de Saint Eustache (in Anglo-Norman, from MS. of Trinity College, Dublin) has been published by Marion Esposito, "Chez l'Auteur," Florence, Via Nazionale, 10.

There has recently been established in Italy an Istituto per la Propaganda della Cultura Italiana, with headquarters in Rome at 5, Campidoglio. The president of this institution is the Minister of Public Instruction; the Executive Committee is composed of three well-known men, among whom A. F. Formigini is the leading spirit; and the Advisory Board includes such men as Guido Biagi and Benedetto Croce.

Its purposes are to intensify intellectual activity in Italy itself, in various ways, and to make that activity known in other countries, in particular by arranging for translations of the most notable current Italian works, and by the diffusion of accurate and interesting bibliographical information.

The organization for the diffusion of this information is a monthly periodical called *L'Italia Che Scrive*. This periodical consists of about twenty pages each month, and contains sketches of modern Italian writers, both in literary and scientific fields; bibliographies of their works; miscellaneous articles of bookish interest; series of short articles dealing with the various Italian universities, academies and other educational institutions; a large number of brief reviews of recent works of all sorts; a series of interesting paragraphs contributed by contemporary authors and dealing with their own plans and experiences; a very complete bibliographical list of all Italian books of the month; news of the activities of the Institute; and a large number of publishers' advertisements. The periodical thus gives a remarkably complete survey of Italian intellectual activity; and it gives it in a very interesting and compact form.

Subscription to this periodical costs only five lire a year.

Membership in the Institute costs ten lire a year, and carries with it a free subscription to the periodical.

